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P. J. HADJIDAKIS



DELOS









On the little island of Delos, a unique body of evidence has accumulated that sheds light on Hellenic history from the 3rd millennium BC up to the 7th cent. AD. Its monuments, which have been designated part of the World Cultural Heritage and are protected by UNESCO, have always been the object of special attention and concern on the part of the Ministry of Culture. Despite the difficulties on the island, a significant effort is under way in recent years to conserve and restore this unique site, gradually making it more "legible" and friendly to its many visitors.

Poets from Homer and Pindar through Antipater of Thessaloniki to George Sefiris have praised the island that was the birthplace of Apollo, the "most Greek" of all the gods, to whom was attributed all those special characteristics that the Hellenic culture bequeathed to humanity: light, moderation, balance, harmony. Every year, pilgrims from all Greek cities would flock to the god's Panhellenic Sanctuary where they soon became conscious of their national identity, the "same blood, same language and same religion" that drew them together, as Herodotus states succinctly. In the city that grew up around the Sanctuary in the 2nd cent. BC, all the peoples of the Mediterranean co-existed in peace, absolutely free to work and worship their own ancestral gods, thus constituting an especially salutary example for our times.

The international bibliography includes hundreds of studies by experts on various aspects of the Delian monuments. For the first time, thanks to the Latsis Group, IFG Eurobank Ergasias and Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, the culture that developed on the island is made accessible to the general public, and representative older and recent findings, characteristic of the daily public and private life of the inhabitants, have been gathered together in this elegant book. It is my pleasure to preface it and to congratulate all those who contributed to it for the significant scholarly and aesthetic result.

EVANGELOS VENIZELOS
Minister of Culture



The very first time I visited Delos, I felt its magic enveloping me, and the dazzling light that shone on the island bringing the ancient marbles to life, lending them an almost unearthly radiance.

I imagine that this feeling of timelessness was also the reason why the ancient Greeks selected it as the birthplace of Apollo, god of light and the Hellenic sky, god of the beauty and harmony of the Greek landscape, and god of poetry and music.

The priceless findings in the Museum of Delos – the city whose vestiges thousands of visitors and pilgrims encounter in their every footstep, with its splendid public buildings, its luxury dwellings, its theatre, temples and ports – give the place a singular magnificence and a sacred aura that permeates everything.

It is this sacredness, this singularity and above all this eternal light which continues to brighten and purify our world that the Latsis Group and EFG Eurobank Ergasias wanted to capture in this book:

To the author, Mr P.J. Hadjidakis, as well as to all those who contributed to this publication in any way, I extend sincere congratulations and the hope that this handsome volume will be a vehicle bringing us closer to the mortals and gods who lived there.

MARIANNA LATSI



This book aspires to be a voyage in space and time, a voyage of acquaintanceship with the gods and men who walked on the little island of Delos and made it unique. For this reason, the usual distinctions of "Archaeological Site" and "Museum" were not applied, nor was a strict chronological order adopted. The exhibits were "taken out" of the Museum, seen either in conjunction with the sites on which they were found, thus filling in the picture created by the remains of the buildings, or forming thematic units that illuminate the character of the people who created them, their activities, concerns and fears. References to stylistic aspects of the findings or their place in art history are minimal, both because such studies have been done frequently in the past, but primarily because our interest has focused on the creator, not the creation, on the message carried, not the carrier, and on the text not the font type or paper. Thus objects are presented not as works of art, nor simply as the admirable achievements of our ancestors, but rather as the occasion, starting point and means of approaching and understanding the people who created and used these objects and the age they lived in.

This voyage would never have been possible without the generosity of the Latsis Group and EPC Eurobank Ergasias, without Marianna Latsis' personal interest and affection for Delos, or without the enthusiasm, constant encouragement and support of Vangelis Chronis. Photographer Yannis Patrikianos, with his well-known conscientiousness and persistence, worked in the Museum for many days and nights in order to achieve the desired result. Dimitris Kalokyris, with the sensitivity and patience that distinguish him, was able to tame the heterogeneous material and give form and shape to the book. Irene Louvrou, assisted by her years of experience, coordinated the entire effort with her characteristic decisiveness and innate cordiality. Dionysis Plessas and his associates worked tirelessly to ensure the aesthetic quality of the illustrations. I thank them all warmly.

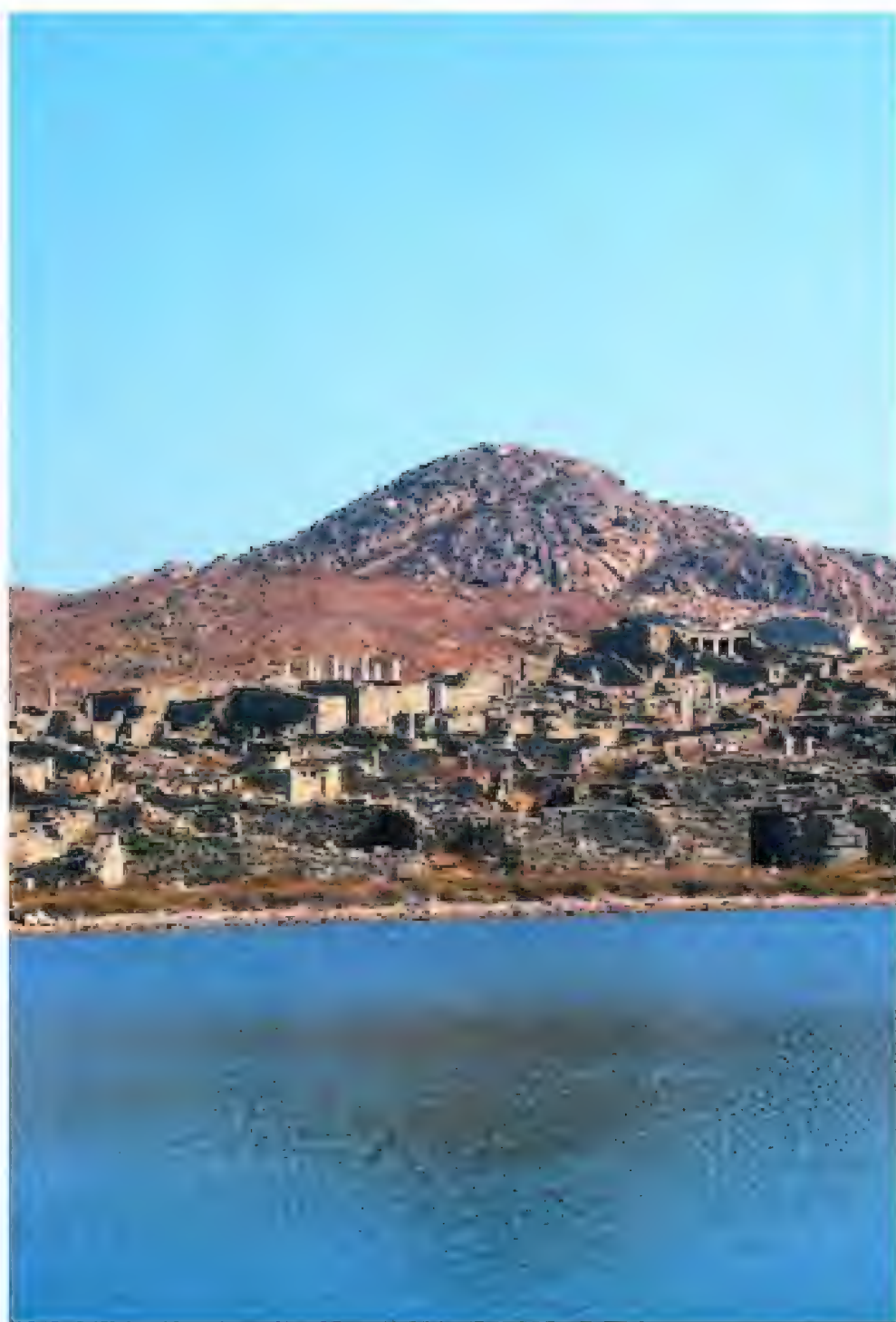
P.J. HADJIDAKIS



Ναῖε', ὦ θεοδιδύχα, λιπαροπλοκάμια, παύ-
δεσαι Λατοῖς ἡμεροέστατον ἔρνος,
πάντου θήγατρο, γηινὸς εὐρσεῖας ἀκί-
νητον τέρας, ὅν τε βροτοὶ
Δάλων κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
τῆλέφαντον γαιανέας γηινὸς ἄστρον.

PHYLAE, 6224, 28-29 (5th cent. BC)

Hail to thee, sole-born by the gods, beloved blossom of the children of the
fair-dressed Leto, daughter of the sea, thou unnamed wonder of the
wide earth, whom mortals call Delos, but whom the blessed gods liv-
ing high on Olympus call the black earth's far-seeing star.



Τὴν ἱερὴν, ὦ Πημέ, τίνα χρόνον ἤ ποτ' ἔεισαι
 Δῆλον. Απόλλωνος κατηντηρίφην· ἥ μὲν ἅπασαι
 Κυκλάδες, αἱ νήσων ἱερώνταται εἰν ὅλῃ κεῖνται,
 εὔομνοι. Δῆλος δ' ἐβέλει τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι
 ἐκ Μουσέων, ὅτι Φοῖβον ἀοιδῶν μεδέοντα
 λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπεύρωσε καὶ ὥς θεὸν ᾔνεσε πρότῃ.
 Ἰδὲ Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃ μὴ Πίμπλειαν ἔειπε
 ἔχθουσιν, τῶς Φοῖβος ὅτις Δῆλον λάθῃται.
 Δῆλω νῦν οἴμης ἀποδᾶσσομαι, ὥς ἂν Απόλλων
 Κόνθιος αἰνήσῃ με φίλης ὀλέγοντα τιθήνης.

 Ἰστίη ὦ νήσων εὐέστικε, χαῖρε μὲν αὐτῇ
 χαῖροι δ' Απόλλων τε καὶ ἦν ἐλοχεύσατο Λητώ.

CALLIMACHUS, *To Delos* (3rd cent. BC)

My soul, in what year and when will you sing of sacred Delos, Apollo's nurse? And even though all the Cyclades are celebrated in hymns and most sacred of all the islands in the sea, to Delos must go the first gifts of the Muses, because it was she that first bathed and suckled Phoebus, leader of songs, as an infant and honoured him as a god. As the Muses are enemies of any singer who does not praise Pimpleia, so Phoebus abhors anyone who forgets Delos. This is why I now dedicate this hymn to Delos, so that Cyclopes Phoebus, of whose beloved nurse I sing, will praise me... beautiful islands, beautiful hearth, hail to thee and to Apollo and to her whom I am thought forth.



ON LETO'S UPHILL PATHS

(lines from a poem)

*Two crickets take root in the eyes [...] twords of the future
legends of the future)*

—when shall we go to Delos?

*two north winds of May two north winds of April
and the wind-tossed leaf uncovered two stars*

—when shall we two go to Delos?

*At times you'll see the rocks at times I'll see the wave
on Leto's uphill paths*

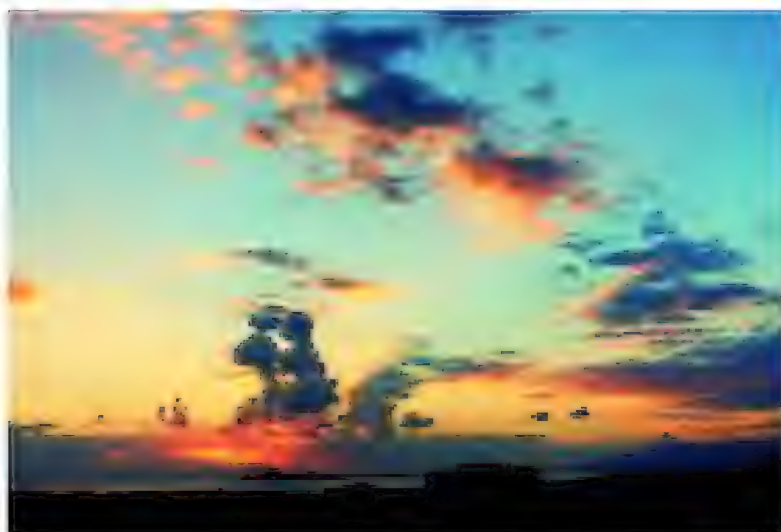
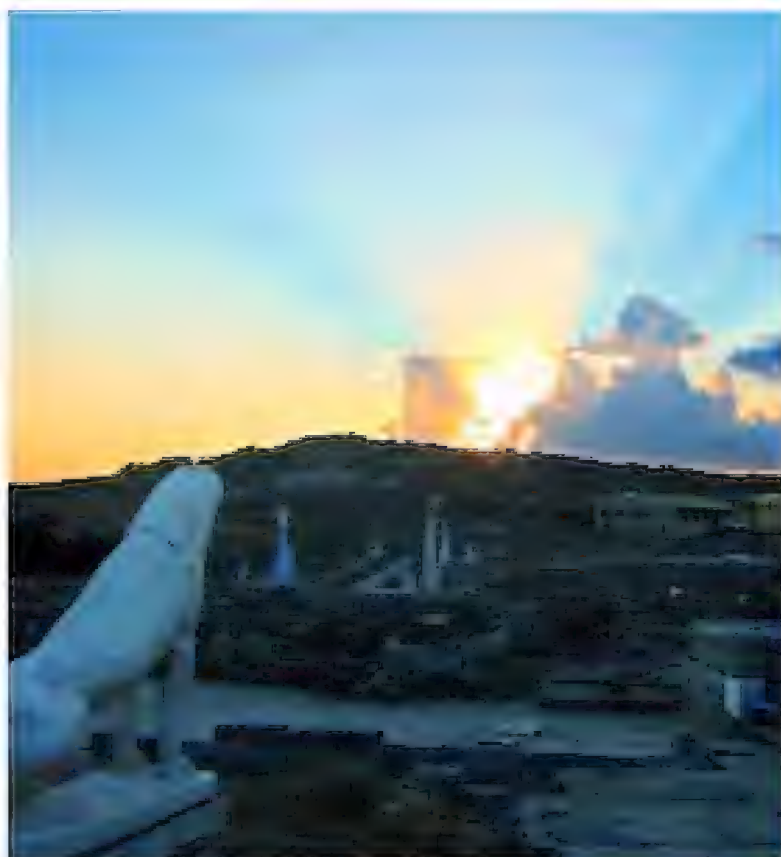
*and we shall hear the two-stringed foolstep of our hearts
I'll be ending or beginning a poem
for the primeval cockerels to recoil to each other
on Leto's uphill paths.*

I'll give you the eyes [...]

—When shall we two go to Delos?

I'll give you pearls

*the north winds of May the north winds of April.
And if some other wind-bent leaf hides us
how shall we two go to Delos?*



No other red, water atmosphere, has ever found a place as much as Ayda near Dhu.
The appearance of the red on the island are uniform, varied and untypical.

Delos, birthplace of light

Even though it is one of the smallest islands in the Aegean, Delos was the most famous and sacred *supra omnia* divinity of all islands in antiquity. Since, according to the legend, it was there that Apollo-Elios, god of daylight, and Artemis-Selene, goddess of night light, were born – it was, in short, the birthplace of light, which the Greeks always regarded as the most precious good. In this seemingly deserted city that follows the gentle slopes of the hills down to the sea, in the sanctuaries of the gods and in its harbours, every little piece of marble, every stone and every rock radiate, ever explaining and recalling that on this island, which is but a dot in the Aegean, “the Great, the Most Beautiful Apollo” was born, and his twin sister Artemis.

Homer relates the charming myth. Leto, pregnant by Zeus, wandered from Thrace to Imbros, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ios, Naxos and Astrea searching desperately for a place of refuge in which to give birth. But no place would receive her; they all feared the rage of Hera, the wife whom Zeus had betrayed. Only one unimportant and invisible (adelfos) bit of rock that floated around the Aegean, disclaimed by all, agreed hesitantly: “And what if the god when he is born sees me thus and, and scorns me? What if he goes to another land, many-treed, to build his temple and kicks me to the depths of the sea, to become a nest for black seals and octopuses?” The desperate Leto vowed “by the earth and the broad sky and the waters of the Styx, that the Sanctuary and the altar of Phoebus will be here forever and he will honour you above all other places”. Pleased that Zeus anchored the windswept, barren, floating rock to the sea floor with diamond columns, and from *adelfos*, the little island thus became “what mortals call Delos, but what the blessed gods on Olympus” who see the world from on high, “call the black earth’s far-seen star” (Oinias). Although the wanderings of Leto, who by then was about to give birth, stopped on Delos, her pain did not, because Hera detained Ilithyia, goddess of childbirth, on Olympus. After Leto suffered nine days and nights of torment, the other goddesses intervened and dispatched Iris to Olympus, who by promising Ilithyia a nine-cubit necklace of gold and amber, convinced her to hasten to Delos.

As soon as Ilithyia arrived on the island, the exhausted Leto “embraced a palm-tree with her arms, knelt on the soft meadow” and gave birth first to Artemis and then to Apollo. As soon as the fair-haired god was born, “the earth smiled, Delos was inundated with golden light and became a flower-bedecked meadow, swans began singing and the dazed goddesses cheered”. Thetis, Dion, Rhea, Amphitrite and other goddesses wrapped the divine infant in swaddling clothes and fed him nectar and ambrosia, while Zeus himself watched the birth of his children from the top of Mt. Kynthos. This great gathering of otherwiseably pious, who cooperated in harmony and contributed to the birth of light, charged Delos with positive energy forever. Even today, the followers of the Hindu religion regard Delos as a site no less sacred than Hiranay.

Delos is situated in the heart of the Aegean, in the centre of the Cyclades that form a dance circle around it, “hearth of the islands” as Callimachus calls it, i.e. shining and centre of the islands. Even though it is just 3.5 km from Mykonos, and 1 km from Rhénia, the atmosphere on the island is different, as is the light – the choices of the ancient Greeks were never random.

What we regard as myth today was considered history in antiquity and none of the ancient authors ever wondered why this insignificant rock was selected as the birthplace of the most important god in the Hellenic Pantheon, a theme of great interest to modern scholars. In the *Syros* newspaper *Phos* on 10 March 1991, we read the following news item:

"For some days the option of antiquities (in Delos, Mr Stamopoulos has been engaged in making observations at the square with respect to the position of Syros and Delos in relation to the ancient mythology and the Homeric Epic. To this end, together with the secondary school principal Mr Gellinos and the teacher Mr Naxosmakiis, he made a trip the day before yesterday – the day of the equinox – to Neos, from the top of which to observe the rising and setting of the sun. And although it was not possible to see it owing to the misty weather, it was nevertheless confirmed that Delos lies due east of Syros, and Nýtturos due west of it. According to Mr Stamopoulos, in very ancient times, there was a centre of the Hellenic civilisation on Syros, in a place called Hironkias today, and because the Hironkians were sun-worshippers, they placed the cult of Apollo on Delos, the island to the east."

Contemporary scientific measurements have shown that Delos is one of the sunniest spots in the world. For those of us who live on the island, this is a fact, as is the positive charge, the sacredness and the very special nature of the place.

The same god was worshipped both at Delphi and on Delos. The wild, imposing landscape of Delphi prepares the visitor to approach the dark, mysterious god with awe, the god who brings Creusa to disaster and Orestes to matricide. The Delian landscape, on the contrary, like the human body, has soft curves and no hard lines. The low hills, the little valleys, the distances, the temples – all are on a human scale, nothing is oppressive or prohibitive. All these features give the site an amazing gentleness and serenity; they make it humanly warm, familiar as an embrace, and it is not at all accidental that the other aspect of the god is worshipped here: the Apollo of light and colour, the god who represents all those qualities that make the Hellenic civilisation special (light, moderation, harmony, balance), the god of poetry and music, the Messenger and life-giver, the "ever beautiful, ever young, he on whose tender cheeks no dawn's glow shined and from whose fragrant oil drops upon the ground". (Callimachus) The difference between the god's two cult centres is expressed in lines from Panteleis Prevelakis's poem "Young Leskolinos":

*You did not cast my flesh like a lightning bolt to earth
but like the rippled glow of a star you drew within my soul.*

The dramatic Delphic landscape bursts upon the visitor with the force of lightning. Delos is "like the reflected glow of a star" that shines eternally in the soul of those who visit it. "Anyone who has not come here," wrote the Mykonian poet P. Kinosathanas, "hasn't been anywhere." And later: "The twin islands, Delos with the tumult of hygienic life and Rheneia with the silence of death, are not places for strolling around in. Many layers of our History have accumulated on their name. They are places of self-knowledge, harsh places, that whirl and eddy, places that devour."

This island, this telling you, is little by little eating me up and I am beginning to resemble it.¹

The silent city with its deserted houses responds itself on you and makes you silent too. Bathes you with light that strips you of matter and spreads you out in infinity; you feel lost, but at the same time you exist as you never existed before. Delos is not just a destination; it is also a point of departure for other, interior voyages, a place of discovery and revelation. The epiphanies by which the god is worshipped describe the stages of this revelation. He is *Luxios* to those who are not ready to accept him; *Pythios* to those who can formulate questions and expect answers. *Delios* and *Minutios* to those to whom he reveals himself and who are beginning to distinguish the truth, *Panentios* to those who have learned the truth and finally *Leskolinos*, to those who live to the Truth by philosophising.²

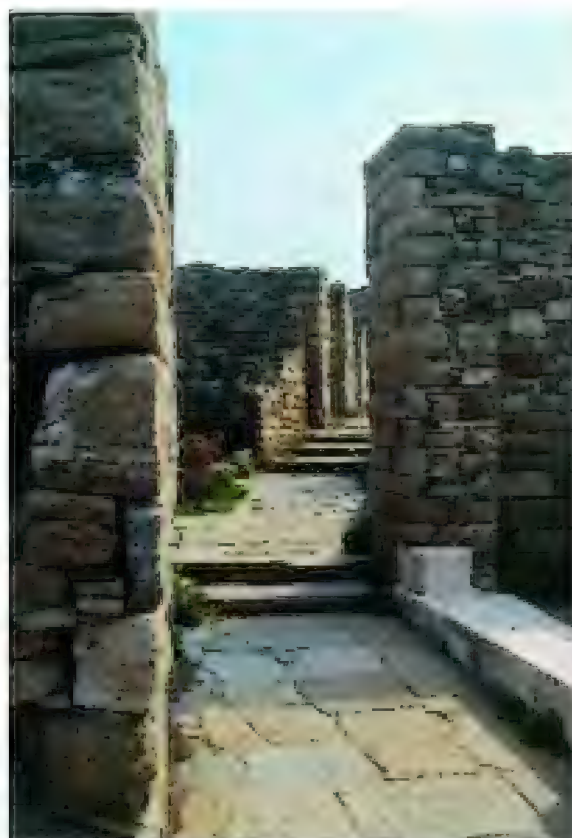
Martin Heidegger wrote: "Reflections that have concerned me for some time regarding the truth, references to revelation and concealment found the desired confirmation during the sojourn on Delos. They ceased to be something apparently imaginary, they were fulfilled, they were paid for in presentness, they were filled with the 'clearing' of the past that had first granted presentness to the Greeks. With the experience of Delos alone, the journey to Greece became a sojourn of 'clearing', a sojourn near whatever the truth is..."

Walking through the once busy streets, entering the warm, welcoming houses in the deserted city, strolling through its sanctuaries and markets, one gradually comes to perceive its inhabitants as neighbours and friends. Some are known by name alone, others are known only from the particularly expressive portraits that have been found in their houses; most of them are nameless and unknown, but the presence of all is strongly felt on the island and to talk about spirits would be an oversimplification.

When holding a cup that another person warmed in his hands and raised to his lips to quench his thirst two thousand one hundred years ago, you inevitably think how relative is the concept of time, and how little human nature changes. The two thousand years that have elapsed seem like just yesterday. You feel that even the door-jambs and the stones of the houses still retain the warmth of the people who lived here. You can almost see their shadows still lengthening over the walls of the atrium in the afternoon. You can feel them walking beside you, stooping to look sadly at the ruined walls and empty rooms that once resounded with voices. You can touch them in the broken roof tiles, in the overturned wine cups, in the lamps that once lighted nights of love, or nights of solitude and sorrow.

*Ah, this room, how familiar it is
Near the door here was the couch
In the middle was the table he wrote at
and the three big velvet chairs
They sat people who dreamed great dreams
like you, and like me for that matter
and now they are resting under the ground
without being disturbed by the sun or the moon
For all men are as ghosts
and every human ghost a flower.*

R. P. CAMPBELL — YVES KISS — POOLISH





The Island

Strabo, who was born a few years after the destruction of Delos, describes this little island in a few words: "The city of Delos is in a valley where the Sanctuaries of Apollo and Leto may be found. Kynthos, a bald rocky mountain, stands above the city. The Inopos River, which is not very large, crosses the island." The total area of Delos is just 0.86 km²; neighbouring Rhenea is 17 km² and Mykonos is 89.7 km². The monuments excavated to date cover an area of some 0.9 km² – approximately 1/7 of the total area – in the middle of the island. The island is a granite mass 11-15 million years old (Miocene epoch) with sporadic intrusions of metamorphic carbonate rock (marble) that is more than 150 million years old. In some areas one can find younger strata of porous stone up to 1 million years old from the Pliocene or Pleistocene epochs. As a result of tectonic activity, the small-scale erosion of the rock, the morphology of the terrain and the climatic conditions, most of the surface of Delos is rocky. In some parts of the island, particularly in the little valley of the Sanctuary of Apollo, there is land suitable for the growth of vegetation, but even there the alluvial soil layer is thin.

The valley of the Sanctuary is surrounded by low hills: Skantanos on the north west (62.3 metres high), Gargels on the north (52.8 metres), Pithos (49.4 metres) and an unnamed hill (35.4 metres) on the east. Kynthos (Kastros) on the south east (112.8 metres), Glastripes on the south (65.7 metres) and Kato Vardia (62.8 metres) farther south. Kynthos, despite the fact that it is not very high, dominates the island. From its summit one can see the whole of Delos and the surrounding islands. The Cyclades were thus named because they form a circle around Delos (Cyclades is derived from the Greek word *kyklos* = *Apollon* meaning circle). Almost all the eastern coast consists of sheer rock dropping precipitously into the sea. The north and west coasts taper off more softly into many small coves and sandy beaches (Pithoumni).

Delos has a temperate island climate. Winters are mild with rare frosts and even minor, short-lived snowfalls; it last snowed in March of 1967. Summers are fresh and rainless, but it is often humid in the early morning. Strong north winds (*meltemia*) of up to 6th on the Beaufort scale blow during July and August. Even for the most modern and well-equipped vessels, the journey to Delos can be difficult during the *meltemia* and, at times, impossible. "Traveling by sea is no laughing matter", writes Cleand¹ to Atticus in July of 51 BC, "particularly in the month of July. We reached Delos six days after departing from Athens. On the 6th of July we set out from Pezaro and reached Samos with difficult winds which made us late there until the next day, but on 8 July the journey to Delos was pleasant. There then we reached Gargos with a strong wind at our side despite the fact that it was not contrary to our course. Then on to Syros and thence to Delos, covering the distance faster than we would have wanted. The open Aegean seas, as you well know, are the worst in the world when there is a tempest. After all this, I shall be in no hurry to leave and shall not hurry from Delos unless I can see the mountain tops of Tenos clearly." Even today, Aegean sailors and fishermen look closely at the Trikona mountain top on Tenos; if it can be seen clearly on the horizon it is "well-omened", but if it is covered by clouds, they do not set sail.

The island has no natural sources of water, but in the granite substrate, despite the many tectonic cracks in the terrain, there is a limited ground water horizon at a relatively shallow depth, which is significant for the island. From antiquity to modern times, the island's drinking water comes from the same wells (Well of

¹ The standards in the margins refer to the photographs, which are not intended to scale. The numbered description of each item in the photographs can be found in the Database on pages 426-441.



Ancient forestland and a modern bomb house on the south part of Delos. The picture was probably not much different in antiquity.

Ploutaia, Well of Madbrass) in the atriums of the ancient houses. In antiquity, in addition to these private wells, there were many public wells and fountains and all houses had large cisterns below their atriums in which they collected rainwater from their roofs. It has been estimated, perhaps over-optimistically, that the public and private cisterns of Delos could contain 280,000 cubic metres of water, provided the rainfall was as heavy as that of February 2000, in which the reservoirs and cisterns were filled to overflowing for the first time in living memory. It seems that there was never enough water. In the early 1st cent. BC a slave living in the Lake House incised some lines on the wall of his little room, full of nostalgia for his homeland Antioch, "which has green figs and abundant trees".



Rainwater in antiquity created the famous Inopes River which flowed from the northeastern foothills of Kynthos, and its waters were channelled into an artificial reservoir, the Inopes Fountain, from which, by means of extensive irrigation works, it was directed to the city and the port. The rainwater that collected in the lowest part of the island, north of the Sanctuary, formed the celebrated, round Sacred Lake, "the lake where water turns in a circle, where melodious strains honour the Muses".

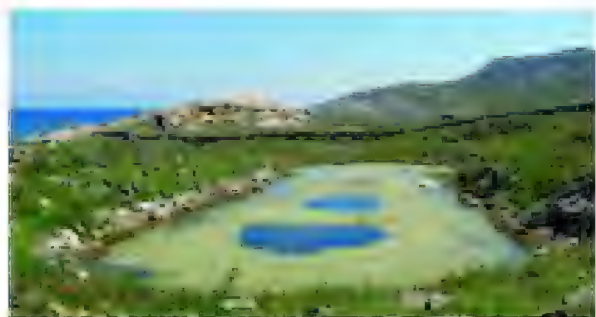
In the southern part of Delos, on neighbouring Rheneia and on Mykonos, there were farms that supplied the inhabitants of Delos with fresh vegetables – as is the case today. Many of these farms belonged to the Sanctuary and were rented to individuals. They had grapevines, grew wheat and barley, raised goats, sheep, cattle and swine and kept bees. Inscriptions inform us that in the 2nd cent. BC on one of the approximately 25 farms on Mykonos there were 37 fig trees, 2700 grapevines, 25 wild olive trees, 2 myrtles, 3 walnut trees, 50 apple trees, 1 pear tree, 1 laurel tree. The small valleys and hills of Mykonos were covered by extensive vineyards; Mykonian wine was famous in antiquity and, for centuries, grapes were the symbol of Mykonos. The patron god of Mykonos was Dionysus who was portrayed on the coins of the city made and adorned with ivy. Two months of the Mykonian calendar, *Lentasion* and *Rhethion*, were named in his honour. Lentasion (January – February) was the most important month in terms of the island's feasts. On the 10th of that month, Demeter, Persephone and Zeus were honoured, while the 14th was dedicated to Semole, the unfortunate mother of Dionysus. On the 18th of the month, possibly at Leno, where the official sanctuary of the ancient city was perhaps located, the Sanctuary of Dionysus Leneus, sacrifices were made to Dionysus Leneus, Zeus



Chthonios and Kara Chthonia is a festival exclusively for Mykonians in which foreigners were not allowed to participate. This three-day festival of Larnakia was organised by the city's rulers and priests; the cost of the sacrifices and feasts was covered by public funds. In the month of Larnakia, the new wine, the blessed gift of Dionysus, was tasted. Outside the city, in the still largely unknown rocky region of Dekras (top of hills) was the rural temple to Dionysus Baccheus, which held a festival on the 10th of Baccheion (March – April). At that time, an unblemished goat was sacrificed, followed by a feast at public expense.

Until at least the 2nd cent. BC, there must have been on Delos farms and gardens with trees, that were gradually supplanted by public and private buildings. In the Hellenistic age there were only a few trees in the Sanctuary, east of the Monument of the Bulls, as all the surrounding area had become lots on which the wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers who had settled on the island built their luxurious houses. In the densely populated Hellenistic city, there was no room for gardens or even for interior gardens in the atriums of houses, as in Pompeii. It is, however, likely that in the colonnaded areas (peristyles) that did not have mosaic floors, there were ornamental plants.

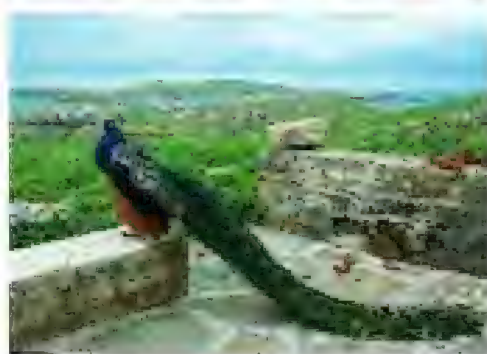
The climatic conditions and varied terrain (low hills, valleys, rocky land, sea-coasts) create suitable habitats for the development of vegetation with different requirements. The cisterns of the ancient houses and the natural and artificial hollows that exist in many parts of the island are full of rainwater until June or



July and provide favourable conditions for the growth of aquatic plants. What does not seem to have changed on the island from antiquity up to the present day is the presence of flora that make Delos a huge natural botanical museum with a large variety of plant life. In addition to being an important archaeological site. To date, 581 species have been recorded, many of which have medicinal properties and have been used from antiquity to modern times for healing purposes. Some plants that have survived in limited numbers and in specific places may possibly be descendants of species that were imported to the island in antiquity for the production of medicines or attars. Medicine was highly developed in the densely populated and wealthy city of ancient Delos.⁷ Findings include medical instruments, vessels containing medicines made from plants, clay heating bottles used to induce hyperaemia for the relief of pain, statues of Asclepius, and votive offerings to Apollo, the Graces, Isis, Aphrodite, Demeter and the Hero Doctor for the cure of affected parts of the body. On the south side of the island is an *Asclepeion*; but there must have been other treatment centres on neighbouring Rheneia, in which Delians with more serious illnesses or women ready to give birth would be brought, as it was forbidden for anyone to give birth on the ion Delos. Inscriptions found on Delos have preserved the names of many doctors, some of whom had studied at the renowned *Asclepeion* at Cos. The Delian doctor Antiphanes was the first to introduce the theory that illnesses were caused by dirt.



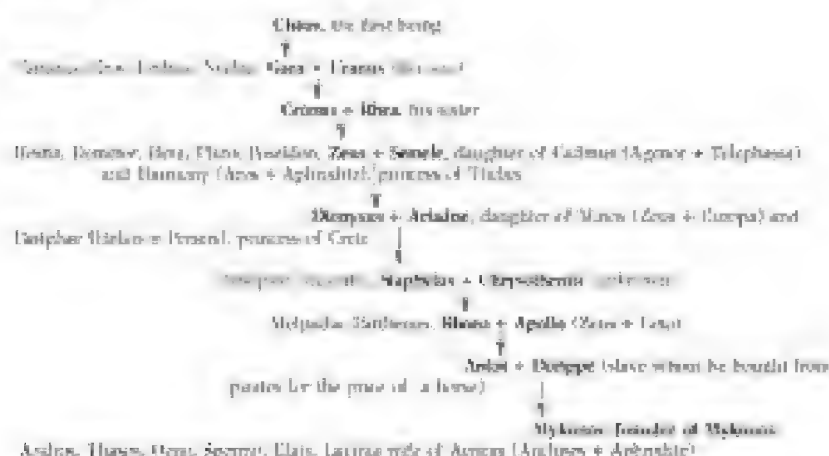
This jar contained an ointment of *Chamaecrista* *Asperifolia* made by the doctor *Chamaecrista* *Asperifolia* (Centares). The herb with which the famous Delian retired the movable canal, which ran from the eye of the patient, passed down, and grew on this.



From Myth to History

The oldest vestiges of human presence on the island date to the 3rd millennium BC. Traces of a prehistoric settlement were found on the summit of Kythnos, a naturally fortified position from which people could easily monitor the small valley and the sea around it, in those troubled and insecure times. Myths indicate that Minians settled on the island, but nothing has yet been found to document their presence. The Mycenaeans who came to the island in the late 15th cent. BC, having already established their sovereignty over the Aegean, felt safe enough to settle in the small valley by the sea. Anaks, the mythical Mycenaean king of Ithaka, son of Apollo and great-grandson of Dionysus, established relations with several neighbouring states in an effort to preserve neutrality in the conflicts of the age. He played host to the ruler of Troy, Anchises, and to the Achaean and later to Aeneas, son of Anchises, who had managed to escape from burning Troy. During the Trojan campaign – the last expedition to unite the Greeks in a common struggle, ostensibly to avenge the honour of Menelaos and punish the violation of the precepts of hospitality – the Achaeans anchored at Ithaka with their fleet and, committing the same crime on Ithaka as that of which they accused Paris, seized their host's three daughters. The three princesses of Ithaka, Sperma, Dema and Elais, the *Dreotripol*, had been given the gift by their great-grandfather Dionysus of causing the earth to bear fruit without ploughing, so that their mere presence was a guarantee that the expeditionary force would have the necessary supplies without stint, since only these three princesses may possibly have been pre-Hellenic divinities who were relegated to a position of secondary importance after the establishment of the patriarchal society and the coming of Apollo, who, together with Athena, was one of the most fanatic supporters of male authority.

Anaks also had three sons; Thasos, founder of Thasos, Mykianos, founder of Mykianos, and Andros, founder of Andros. In the genealogy of Anaks there are hints of the origins of the Mylians and their inter-relationships. Thus from whichever point of view one looks at history, Ilians and their descendants the Mykianians came down from gods and princes and were children born of passion and illicit unions, not of conventional relationships.





Αὐτὸς δ' ἠγρυπνόντιός τε θανάξ' ἐκαστηΐδά' Ἀπολλῶν,
 ἄλλαντα μὲν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθῳ ἐβλήσκει παρπαλλόντας,
 ἔβλεπε δ' ὅν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνδρας ἑλάνθανες.
 πολλοὶ τιν' νηοὶ τε καὶ ἄλλα δεινὰ ῥήεντα,
 πόσαι δὲ σκοπιαὶ τε φῖλαι καὶ πρῖονες ἄχροι
 ἰατρῶν ἑρέων. ποταμοὶ δ' ἦ ἔλαιν' ἀραιμένους.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ δάδω φάβ'το μέλαισ' ἔπιτέρας ἤτορ.
 ἐνθα τιν' ἐλαγχάνουσ' ἴδοντες ἡγερέθονται
 αὐτοὺς αἶν' αἰδέσθων καὶ αἰδέας ἐλάνθων.
 οἱ δὲ σὲ συγμάχη' τε καὶ ἰαχὴν καὶ ἀοιδῇ
 μνησάμεναι τέμπουσιν ἔσαν στήθεσσι ἄρματα.
 φάτ' ἢ ἑλπεύουσ' καὶ ἡγήμους ἔμμεναι οἴοι
 ὅς τ' ἐπ' ἐπανεύροισι' ἔστ' ἴδοντες ἐλάνθοι εἶεν
 πάντων γὰρ κεν ἴδουσ' ὅλβον, τέμπεσσι δὲ θιγόν
 ἀνδρας τ' εἰσπορώνων καλὰζώνους τε γυναικας
 νήας τ' ὠκείας ἔδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλὰ.
 πῶς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, θεοὺς κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται,
 κλέος δ' ἄλλαντες ὕμνοισι βλάσταισι θεράσονται
 σὲ τ' ἐπεὶ ὅν τρώσων μὲν Ἀπολλῶν ὀμνήσωσιν,
 αἰετὶς δ' αὖ Λητοῦς τε καὶ Ἀρτεμῖος ἰαχάσων.
 μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἧδὲ γυναικῶν
 ἡμῶν ἐκείθενον, ὁδόνουσι δὲ φάτ' ἐνέθρονον.
 πάντων δ' ἀνθρόπων φρονέας καὶ κρεμνίσαντοισι
 μεμνῶσ' ὕμνων· φάτ' δὲ κεν αὐτοὺς ἀκαστος
 φέβ' ἔγχεσσι· αὐτοὶ σφῶν κλέει ἀνέστησαν ἀοιδῇ.

HOMER, *Odyssey*, 7th cent. BC

And you, O lord Apollo, god of the silver bow, far-shooter, once washed on
 rugged Hyades, and once wandered about the islands among the people.
 Many are your temples and wooded groves, and all hills and towering
 peaks of lofty mountains and rivers flowing to the sea are yours, Hyades, yet 'tis
 Iolus that most delights your heart; for there the long-robed Ionians gather in
 your houses with their children and chosen wives: they delight in feasting and
 dancing, and song, and leave not when the games begin so often as they hold
 their gathering. A man would say that they were as deathless and as quick as gods,
 were he to come upon the Ionians thus met together. For he would see the grace
 of them all, and would be pleased at heart to behold the men and well-endowed
 women, their swift ships and good wealth. And there is this great woman besides
 — whose name shall never perish — the gaily-dressed, hand-maidens of the Far-
 shore; for when they have praised Apollo first, as well as Leto and Artemis who
 delights in arrows, they sing, telling of men and women of good days, and claim
 the likes of men. Also they can imitate the tongues of all men and their clatter-
 ing speech: each would say that he himself were singing, so close to truth is their
 sweet song.



The Sanctuary and its History

As early as the Mycenaean period, the history of the island coincides with the history of the Sanctuary that gradually developed on the little valley in the middle of the western shore. Much later, in the 2nd cent. BC, the centre of gravity moved to the bustling port and cosmopolitan city. That was where the decisions were made that determined the fate of the island, whereas the Sanctuary had been transformed into a historic landmark for visitors and a place where Hellenistic rulers flaunted their power and wealth.

The cult of Apollo was established on Delos at least as early as Homeric times. By about the 9th cent. BC, the island was already considered the birthplace of the God and his sanctuary had been built in the valley. In the *Odyssey*, when the beleaguered Odysseus saw the willowy Nausicaä, she reminded him of the young palm tree that he had once seen on Delos, next to Apollo's altar. The Homeric "Hymn to Apollo" (circa 700 BC) describes the glorious festivals of the Ionians, when they sailed to Delos with their wives and children in order to worship the god with hymns, dances, athletic and musical contests and to hear the Delian maidens chanting old hymns "imitating the sounds and rhythms of all peoples so well that not one of them would doubt that he himself was singing." It is possible that this ability was due to the fact that the choros consisted of captives who taught hymns in their local idiom to the others. In Euripides' *Hecuba* the captured Trojan women said: "O breeze, breeze of the sea, that sweeps swift galleys, even's couriers, across the sargassum waste! where will you bear me, the sorrowful one? To whose house shall I be brought, to be his slave and chattel? to some haven in the Asian land, or in Phrygia, where men say Apollonius, father of fairest children, makes fat and rich the soil? Or in an island home, sent on a voyage of misery by fate that sweeps the bring, leading a wretched existence in halls, where the first-corned palm and the bay-tree put forth their sacred shoots for Dea Latona, a memorial of her divine birth-pains? and there with the maids of Delos shall I flume the golden head-band and cone of Artemis, their goddess?"

According to tradition, Homer himself created the "Hymn to Apollo" standing beside the *Károlos*, the ancient altar made by Apollo when he was just four years old from the left horns of the goats he had hunted on Kynthos. Karians, enchanted with the hymn, incised the verses on a stele, which they placed in the temple of Artemis—Apollo did not yet have a temple, just an altar. This altar was built without mortar and was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World. "There for the first time did Apollo learn to lay foundations and by Phoebeus' example people learn to lay towers. For Apollo" the god of civilization, "delights when cities are built and he himself lays the foundations" (Valerius Maximus). When Theseus was returning from Crete, he stopped at Delos and, together with the youths and maidens who accompanied him, danced the *gymnasia* around the altar, a dance re-enacting their escape from the Labyrinth.

As early as the Archaic period, the Sanctuary of the twin gods Artemis and Apollo occupied a large area and was renowned and respected amongst all Ionians. It included temples, buildings and statues dedicated by the powerful cities of the time in an effort to take advantage of the god's prestige. North of the Sanctuary was the shrine to Leto, mother of the two gods, while on the foothills of Kynthos, some distance away, was the temple of her rival, Hera, who had become reconciled to these fruits, too, of her husband's illicit love.

Every year starting on the 7th of the month of Iowis (February-March), "when the sweet spring begins and the nightingale builds its nest"¹, the Greek cities used to send formal deputations and gifts to celebrate the birth of the god. These festivals included a sacrifice, athletic games, concerts by professional musicians, the boys' dance, the dance of the Delian maidens, and various other entertainments, and were particularly splendid as testified by the proverb "was sleep as though you were sailing to Delos".

Naxos, and later Paros, tried to assert itself by taking advantage of some of the Sanctuary's glory. From the mid-7th cent. to the mid-6th cent. BC, most of the buildings and statues on Delos were dedicated by the Naxians (the *Naxioi*, and the *Choras* of the Naxians, the Sacred Way with the Lion Terrace, the colossal *Karyatid Porch*); later, the island of Paros followed a similar policy. However, the only that ultimately prevailed was distant Athens, justifying her presence there with various myths. Between 540-528 BC, Peisistratus tyrant of Athens, upon instruction from the Delphic oracle, conducted the first *epheleia* or purification of Delos, removing the graves around the Sanctuary. Apollo was the god of light and death was darkness – thus the dead were a taint on such a holy site. *"The one god is called Apollo and the other Phos; the one is Helios and the other Aidoneus; the one is Phaeos [the sun] and the other is Skotos [darkness]; the companions of the one are the Muses and Mnemosyne and the other is accompanied by Lethe [Oblivion] and Sopor [Sleep]. The one is Phoros of the light and the other lord of the dark Night and of Sleep'. The one is 'the god most hated by mortals', and the other, as Phos is made plain, 'was accused of being too loved on mortals'.* Thus Herodotus rightly said *"golden-haired Apollo does not accept offerings for the dead and sleep". And before Herodotus, Hesiodus had commented that Apollo loves song and laughter very much indeed, while sadness and sleep are the legacy of Hades.*"

During the reign of either Peisistratus or his sons, the Paros Temple of Apollo was built and housed a larger-than-life statue of the god, a work by Teotimus and Angelion. After Peisistratus' death, the Athenians seem to have temporarily abandoned their effort to gain control of this strategic point in the Aegean, and another tyrant, Polycrates of Samos, appeared on the scene. In about 530 BC, Polycrates, who gained the upper hand in the Aegean owing to his strong naval force, *"having prevailed with his navy, exerted his authority over the other islands, conquered Rhenea and Lade and at Apollon of Delos, attaching it to Iulis by a chain."* (Thucydides)

Delos emerged unscathed from the turmoil of the Persian Wars because the Persians too considered the island sacred and did not sack it, as they did the other islands in the Cyclades. Herodotus' narrates that Datis, the admiral of the Persian fleet, did not allow the ships to approach Delos, but anchored at Rhenea and from there sent a message to the "holy men", who had taken refuge on the mountains of Ilios, to return to Delos, because not only would he not harm them, but his Great King had also ordered him to respect this island where the two gods had been born, as well as its inhabitants. After having burnt incense worth 300 talents on the altar of the god, he left a gold-plated statue of Apollo to be returned to the temple at Delos in Rhenea, whence it had been stolen, and then departed for Eretria.

In 478 BC, after the end of the Persian Wars, the Delian League of Greek cities was formed in order to deal with future threats. The headquarters of the League was on Delos, which was where the enormous sums contributed by the city-states were kept and where their representatives met. Very soon the Delian League evolved into an Athenian hegemony, and the allies became subjects of the Athenians. The funds from the common treasury were moved to the Acropolis in Athens in 454 BC, ostensibly for reasons of security; in reality, however, they were intended to finance Pericles' ambitious building programme.

In 476 BC the second temple of Apollo, the Great Temple, or Delian Temple was begun. Its construction was interrupted because the League's funds had been moved to Athens. Building was resumed during the Period of Independence (346-166 BC), but the temple was never completed.

During the early years of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians, crowded within their city walls, were in desperate straits due to the plague that killed off many inhabitants *"like sheep"*, as Thucydides" writes. In 429 BC, Pericles died a saddened man, having buried even the son born to him by Aspasia; political life was then dominated by demagogues, ruthless professionals who profited from the war. A year later, in 428 BC, Mytilene revolted and was punished harshly by the insecure Athenians; there is evidence of threatening moves on the part of Delos as well. It is estimated that in 427/6 BC the victims of the plague numbered 30,000. Thucydides reports that the Athenians had reached such a state of shamelessness that *"neither fear of the gods nor the laws of men restrained them any longer, because they believed that it was one and the same whether they respected the divine or not, seeing that all were equally doomed; and as for criminal behaviour, they did not expect to live until they were tried and punished, believing that the danger which had been meted out to them and was now hanging over their heads, was greater. Thus, before doom befell them, it seemed natural to try and enjoy life as best they could."* In such an atmosphere of despair and insecurity they committed a heinous crime, the "purification" of Delos, supposedly for reasons of piety. They opened up all the graves on the island, even the most recent ones, and moved the bones and funerary offerings to Rhenea, where everything was buried in a common pit. At the same time, they decided that no one could be born or die on Delos; and that women close to

delivery and the seriously ill should be transferred to Rhodes." From that time on, no one was born, no one died, and no one was buried on the holy island; and the inhabitants of Delos, as was the intention of the Athenians, were left without a homeland. So when the Delians later requested help from the Spartans, this fact enabled the latter, ever reluctant to venture far from Sparta, to claim that Delos could not be their homeland as they themselves had neither been born there, nor were their ancestors buried there.

We can imagine the despair and frustration of the Delians during those winter days, helplessly watching the slaves of the Athenians opening the graves of their loved ones and throwing the bones and funerary offerings onto boats in order to transport them across the water and dump them into the common grave. This pit, the "purification pit", was discovered and excavated by Dem. Stavrakoulas²⁰ in 1898-1900. This exceptionally significant discovery is described in her own inimitable way by the Mykonian author Melpo Alexiou:²¹

"The cranes are going to work on Delos – which means that it's already darkening... A long-lived winged creature is the crane, and throughout its long life, the same journey through day and night is what it has to undertake. But just once a year appeared to disturb the deserted hollows of Delos, the powerful night: Demetris Stavrakoulas, Ephebe of Antiquities of the Cyclades toward the end of the last century, he used to read Thucydides, the ancient, and saw it written that the Athenians proclaimed Delos to be sacred.

George Hatzimavrou, looking over the fragments found in the Purification Pit in 1900 (photograph by Dem. Stavrakoulas, Melos, on 27 July 1999) and in about 1940 with his young assistant Demetris Alexiou.



Typical Athenian (or Purification Pit) shewing fragments with their arms narrowed during in the music played by Apollo. Drawing by George Hatzimavrou.



and not only forbade burying or burning mortals on this land, but that they also dug up the graves in the year 478, scattered the bones with whatever else was left, and took them opposite, to Mykales Delos, which was called Rheneia. And now, this same job was done again by Demetrios Stavrakopoulos to dig up Mykales Delos, to distribute the soldiers' bodies. Because themselves had got to find the "the purification pit". What something there was to be found, what vases, what vessels, in the parable of that pit, plates and dishes and oil jars, oil lamps, whatever things could be found in the households of the rich and the poor, their ornaments, which the living person needed and wanted, they wanted to accompany them to the underworld. And all the small and large things were found in smithies too, a mountain of broken shards ... but the poorest person will never call anything a broken pot, but rather calls it a "shard". And the other result of the "purification pit" discovered with the help of his great brass, was that the name of the Epheor, Demetrios Stavrakopoulos, has remained in history, the island acquired a great museum, Greece enriched its collections, humanity filled in some gaps in its knowledge of ancient civilisations and George Polykandriotis, the tailor from Mykonos who stuck them all together, went blind after spending his whole life stitching over these vessels, gluing them together."

Georgios Polykandriotis laboured to join together fragments of pots from 1898 until 1966, when he retired. By 1931, from the mounts of thousands of fragments that used to arrive in baskets from Rheneia, he had managed to piece together and reconstruct some 2,500 vessels. In later years, virtually blind, he worked with the help of two magnifying glasses, one on top of the other, and until his death in 1965, continued to visit his beloved museum on an almost daily basis and to offer his valuable advice. His daughter Hecate later tells Stavros Manessis: "My father went blind at 55 years old. Before he got blind he had diabetes! And the doctors said to him that Pineschik heart = I was glaucoma..." She also described how he made the acquaintance of H. Stavrakopoulos: "Father must have been no older than 70 and working as a gentlemen's tailor. At that time, there were no hotels and the Nan, from my father's side, ran the upper house in the Castle as an inn. Then Stavrakopoulos came as Epheor of Antiquities to Mykonos, young, around thirty-six to 40 years old. He said that my father ran the business, I didn't want to be heard. So Stavrakopoulos came, still single, and stayed at this inn that my Nan had. Father had a friend and doctor, Alkiviadis Kotsi, and Stavrakopoulos observed the lat. And he said to my Papa - my Papa, as my Nan or Matrona: *Minos Katsira*, your son is an artist! Not a doctor, not a gentleman's tailor, but my Nan: *So so dear, what are I to do?* He says: *I'll take him to the Museum in Athens the next and there... They truly took him on. And all the little bits he used to put together, then he'd look at their decoration and drawings and fit them in...*"

The findings from the purification pit were hundreds of valuable vases of exceptional quality, but there were no objects of precious metal, except for a few leaves from gold wreaths. It seems that together with the purification, the graves were looted and plundered. None of the other cities reacted to this terrible act, which today would cause an international outcry, and none of the contemporary (Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Plato etc.) or later writers referred to it. Thucydides¹⁶ alone described the event in two sentences, without further commentary. A few years later these same people condemned six of the ten victorious generals of the naval battle of Arginusae to death because they showed disrespect for the dead and failed to collect the bodies of shipwreck victims for burial. This time the dead were their own.

In 480 BC the "barbarian" Persian admiral Xerxes requested and demanded the Athenians as "holly men",¹⁷ in 481 BC the Athenians considered them impure, unsuitable to serve the god, and completed the "purification" by exiling all of the local population.¹⁸ The Ionians took refuge at Adramyttium in Asia Minor, having been invited there by Pharnaces, but were betrayed and massacred by Arsaces. The few who survived were allowed to return to Delos after the intervention of the Oracle of Delphi.¹⁹

Immediately after the purification, and despite the fact that they were still at war, the Athenians, out of remorse or fear, began the exceedingly costly task of constructing yet another temple to Apollo, this time of white Pentelic marble, and established the Delian or Delian Games a festival in honour of Apollo. The *Delia*, together with the *Pythia*, the other great festival in honour of the god, coincided with the third year of every Olympiad. This third temple, the Temple of the Athenians, was splendidly inaugurated during the *Metoria* or deputation to Delos, that was funded and led by the moderate Nicias, in 417 BC. The deputation was one of the obligations that wealthy Athenians had to shoulder, and entailed funding a delegation to travel to the Delian Games. The deputation travelled on the thirty-oared military vessel (*triskeron*) that Theseus had used to sail to Crete, an ancient and sacred boat, which by means of careful repairs and maintenance, was in service until the early 4th cent. BC, according to Plutarch, up until the mid-3rd cent. BC, according to Callimachus.²⁰ Until the sacred boat returned from Delos, public executions were forbidden, and it was for

this reason that the execution of Socrates" was postponed in 339 BC. The wealthy Nicias dazzled the crowds gathered at Delos for the celebration with an impressively continued arrival: "When he let his departure, he disembarked at Myconia with the chorus, the sacrificial victims and the rest of his paraphernalia, as well as with a bridge constructed in Athens of the same dimensions that had previously been taken and immediately decorated with gilding, bright colours, garlands and curtains. That night he bridged the passage between Myconia and Delos, which is not great, and at first light he crossed the bridge, leading the procession and the chorus, which was furiously danced and singing, towards the god."¹⁰ This festival in 347 BC at Delos was one of the last joys that Nicias took part in. Four years later, in October of 343 BC, he was slaughtered by the Corinthians exsiliu during the disastrous expedition on which the Athenians had embarked, led by the handsome but ruthless Alcibiades and by their own headless arrogance. Describing the misfortunes that befell the Athenians, in one of the most powerful anti-war texts in greek history, Thucydides¹¹ momentarily forgetting the strict objectivity of the historians comments that "of all contemporary Greeks, Nicias was the one who least deserved such an end".

After the death of Alexander the Great, the Aegean suffered almost forty years of upheaval due to the wars between the ambitious generals who succeeded him. In 314 BC Antigonus declared Greece free and proclaimed a return to Alexander's policy of democratic governance. His fleet reached the Aegean where Lemnos, Imbros and Delos had already revolted against Athens and the Cyclades against Cassander. Even though Athens still retained the prestige of being the intellectual centre, it was a city of no strategic or geo-political importance at that time and played no substantial role in developments. Antigonus and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes (the "Besieger"), established the Commonwealth of the Islands, with Delos as its religious centre, when upon Delos was declared free and independent (314-306 BC).

After the end of the 3rd cent. BC, the only significant construction activity on the site of the Sanctuary was the partial completion of the Temple of the Delians and the building of a new temple to Artemis. During the Period of Independence, however, the rulers of the Hellenistic states vied with each other in constructing magnificent buildings on Delos, where all Greeks could gaze upon and marvel at the wealth and power of the cities that had built them. The kings of Pergamon built (mid-3rd cent. BC) a large stoa or portico on the east side of the Sacred Way that led from the Hellenistic port to the entrance of the Sanctuary. Across the Way an even larger portico was built at a later date (c. 210 BC) by Philip V, as attested by the inscription on the epistyle: PHILIP KING OF THE MACEDONIANS, SON OF PERSEUS DEDICATED TO APOLLO. As was to be expected, the presence of the ruling Macedonians was strong at this pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Antigonus II Doson (Gonatas), Philip's grandfather had built another portico (c. 250 BC) which demarcated the northern boundary of the Sanctuary. Late in the 4th cent. BC, Philip's great-grandfather Demetrius Poliorcetes built the Naeum, a large building that housed a temple dedicated to Apollo.

The entire site of the Sanctuary was studied with hundreds of marble and bronze statues, costly silver offerings from cities or wealthy individuals; unfortunately, only their inscribed pedestals survive.

Gods and Mortals

As early as the 6th cent. BC, Xenophanes of Colophon (c.560-480 BC) points out that “if men or horses or lions had hands and could draw and make sketches like men do, horses would make their gods like horses, cows like cows, and would draw their forms and mould their bodies just like the bodies they each have themselves.” In this way it is noted that it is not God who creates mortals but, instead, man who creates God “in his own image and likeness”. Heraklitus was similarly deterministic “This world, which is the same for all, no god nor man did create, but always was and is and will be; ever-living, free from fading, in measure and being quenched in measure.” In the early 3rd cent. BC, Euhemeros of Messene gave vent to the intense scepticism in vogue in those troubled times, further undermining what little remained of traditional faith. In his work *Heortographi* (Sacred Inscription) he claimed to have seen an ancient inscription in a temple of Zeus referring to the origins and acts of the gods. According to this inscription, Zeus was a man who had been a distinguished king and conqueror, and when he died, his subjects, in gratitude, honoured him as a god. The same was true for Apollo, Aphrodite and all the other gods: they were mortals who had died centuries before and had been deified by the people. In reality, they had died as all mortals do, and existed no more.

The gods who are worshipped in a place are a reflection of its inhabitants, revealing their needs, concerns and hopes. This is even more manifest in the case of the Greek gods, who were always very close to human nature. Homer and the tragic poets depict the gods displaying their passions, while Aristophanes does not hesitate to bring them down onto the stage, to share a joke and laugh with them. Xenophanes’ criticism of Homer and Hesiod for ascribing to the gods all human faults such as stealing, promiscuity and deceit,

With the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society, female deities were relegated to a position of secondary importance. Hera became the wife of Zeus; and in Helos, Leto and Artemis simply became the mother and sister of Apollo. Uranus, Cronus and later Zeus swallowed the children of female deities in an attempt to replace them, even in reproducing life. Gaia reacts by castrating Uranus; her daughters would later do the same. This could be considered a kind of matriarchal original sin, and ever since then castration (whether real, psychological or symbolic) has been men’s eternal, unalterable fear, since the quintessence of masculinity is condensed in the phallus.

It was the primeval god *Phorós* (Fear), generator and moving force of all, as well as the need to name things, that recast traumatic human memories into charming myths and legends in the omnipotence of the gods. These gods, at least in Hellenic times, were fashioned in such a way as to be held up as models, protectors and supporters of every governing authority seeking to prevail over various revolutionary movements. The Olympian gods were the omnipotent gods of Order and Civilisation who always defeated anarchy and challenges to the status quo. Among the violent, uncivilised and anarchic beings in mythology who sometimes threatened the heavenly or earthly ruling class were the Cyclops, Hecatoncheires, Titans, Giants, Centaurs, and the surrounding “barbarian peoples”; there, too, were women such as the Amazons, Harpies and the women of Lemnos, up to and including Antigone and Clytemnestra. By threatening the Order instituted by male rule through similar acts of revolution and murder, all of these committed *khubris* and were severely punished for it by Nemesis, who, although a woman, was directed by a man, Zeus.

Apollo, the pre-eminent advocate and supporter of patriarchy,” appeared to rule the island up to the end, preserving the ideals and values that served the city-state and the aristocracy, but that were especially harsh on the common people. His dominion, undisputed in archaic and classical times, was visibly shaken in the Hellenistic period when, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the narrow but secure boundaries of cities were abolished, long voyages became possible for many more people, human boundaries were break-

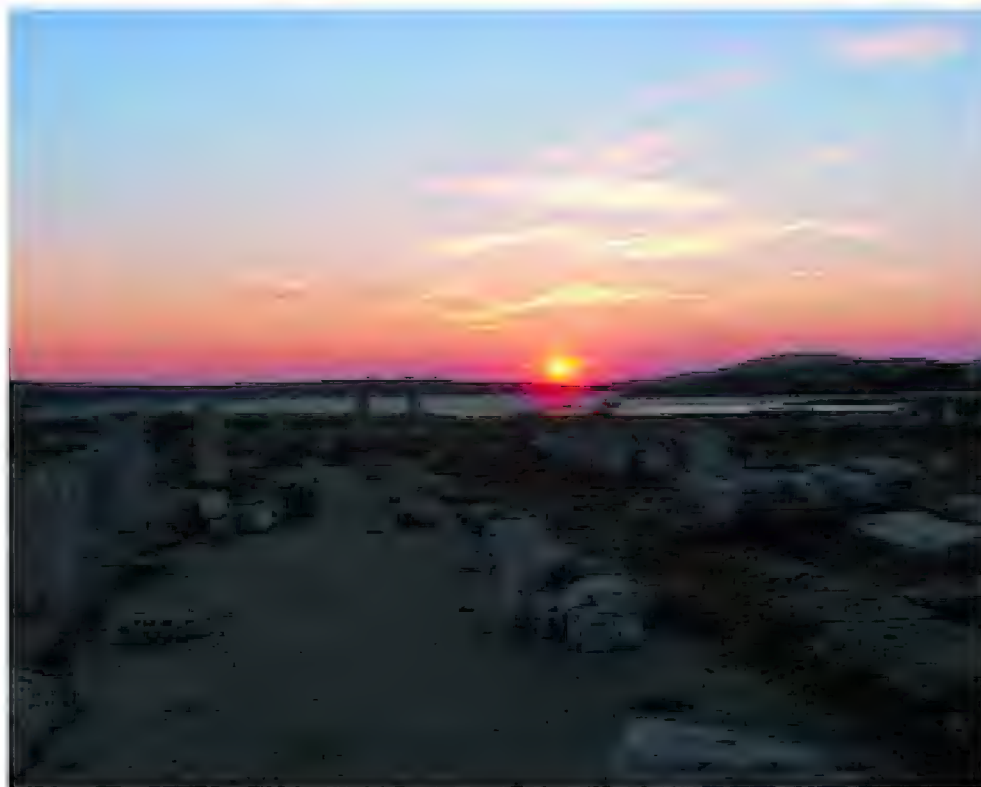
If counting how often each god is referred to or depicted in Hellenistic Delos, we can see who were the most popular and thereby gain insight into the preferences, needs, wishes, fears and generally the psychology of the inhabitants of Delos during the late Hellenistic period. The most popular, with a percentage of 26.7, is loving Aphrodite, goddess of "utmost sensuality". Heracles comes second although with a significant difference (popularity 10.5%). By always obeying the wishes of Zeus, he lived a difficult life full of toil and troubles, but gained immortality. The qualities he personified paved the way for the Christian religion, especially the idea of a reward in heaven. Dionysus and his merry band show the Delians' love for entertainment, while the strong presence of Isis reveals the need for solace and hope. Apollo, "the far-shooter, the silver-tongued, long-bowed, golden-haired" had already fallen to ninth place (with a percentage of only 2.1) as he was somehow too perfect, cold and cerebral and could no longer reassure people or assuage their fears. The fact that the majority of gods were female (59.3%) and that Artemis was in fourth place shows that the social position of women had improved. This is further borne out by dedicatory inscriptions:

The anxiety that people felt in those days drove them to seek help not only from the gods but also from the powers of darkness, chiefly in matters of revenge or of the heart, as is the case today. The Jews - Delos has the oldest synagogue of the Diaspora - sought the help of Almighty God and of the angels to exact revenge on whoever poisoned Heracleia and Marthusa: "I invoke and request the almighty God, the Lord of spirits and all flesh, against those who have murdered or poisoned long-suffering Heracleia before her time, shedding her innocent blood unjustly, that those who murdered or poisoned her and their children be punished in the same way..." Others, however, believing that the gods listen only to prayers which come from fair and pure desires, resorted to white or black magic, the use of which had taken on alarming dimensions as early as the time of Plato: "Charlatan priests and fortune tellers go chiefly to the houses of the rich and cunning whom they have the god-given power to wash away their sin or the sin of their ancestors with incantations and sorcery. They even maintain that they can, for a small fee, turn the enemies of their clients into quails and cures, whether (their chief excuse being that they can force the gods to obey them)". The inhabitants of Hellenistic Delos frequently followed such paths. T. Pasontius inscribed the names of his adversaries on a sheet of lead and attached it to a grave on Rheneia with five bronze nails, obviously in the grave of someone taken young, someone taken before his time, whose uneasy spirit still wandered this earth. This tablet contained more than 20 names including many members from the Pasontius family, several other Romans and Greeks and the Athenian governor of Delos, Serapion. Another person, a woman this time, raised a terrible curse against the person who stole her snake bracelet and dropped the sheet of lead down the well of the neighbourhood in which she suspected the thief lived: "Seyone Sykonian gods, Lady goddess Syria Sytona, revenge me and punish! I rose unknown-asleep, whoever stole my snake bracelet, I curse those who know it and I curse those who were accomplices! I curse the brain, the soul and the senses of the person who stole the bracelet and of those who knew and of those who conspired; I curse the genitals and hands of the person who stole the bracelet; I curse him from his head to the bottom of his feet, both the thief and those who knew, whether a man or a woman." In rituals of sympathetic magic, bronze figurines of men, bound hand and foot, were used to "bind" violent lovers. With magic chants and petitions, while turning lead wheels in the moonlight, they would attempt to bring back a wayward lover:

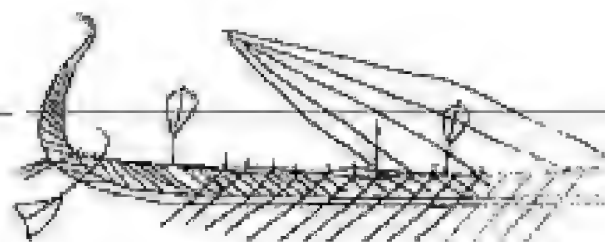
*Where are the launds, Thetys! Bring me the phallus
 From a red woollen cloth over the cup
 So that I may bind the man who seduces me...
 From a magic wheel? and bring him to me
 Delphis has set me right and I burn launds for him
 And put snakes around and spindle right
 And suddenly here, leaving his wheel behind
 So must Delphis' body melt away with poison
 From all magic wheel and bring him to me...*

It is typical of these times that Mimila, an interpreter of dreams, makes so much money from her occupation that she is able to contribute large sums to the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods. Everybody is afraid of envy and the evil eye, which is why amulets are worn in the shape of a phallus or a fist with the thumb clenched between the index and the middle finger. People draw protective divinites on the outside walls of their houses to keep evil away, mainly Heracles Mexikalos (= who wards off evil), and deterrent symbols such as the caps of the Dioscuri, Heracles' club, a representation of the moon, or the all-powerful phallus. The power of the phallus over the evil eye is displayed in a relief from the House of Inague¹⁰ where the figure of a lion-shaped phallus strikes an open eye with its phallus. In their workshops and in their houses,

Delians also placed *pornektaria*,²⁰ strange figurines of males sitting with their legs open exhibiting their enormous phalluses. Their stance was similar to the usual stance of the Egyptian god Bes or Beset, a good-bearded, pot-bellied chap who asserted evil influences, neutralised sorcery, brought good cheer and soothed anxieties. He was often depicted on amulets joining his powers with those of other gods in combat magic. Vases in such shapes were placed on the table – Aristotle writes that magic can be worked even on food – or hung in a conspicuous spot to protect the inhabitants of the house. Their unusual, grotesque appearance drew voyagers' attention, mitigating the effects of the evil eye, and by displaying their genitals they also combated envy. Iliacphoric herms (squared pillars with a male head at the top and an erect male organ half way up) were placed in the atrium of houses, at crossroads, and on out-of-the-way streets and squares to protect passers-by from evil spirits and bad intentions. The point at which three roads met was considered the realm of the terrible Hecate, chief goddess of witches, and such places were carefully avoided by everybody at night. A successful (if the money she left behind is any indication) prostitute was so frightened of envy that she wore all the amulets together on one bracelet: the phallus, Heracles' club, three-faced Hecate, the hand Harpocrates, a herm, an axe and a hammer.



The Ports



The Period of Independence

came to an end when the Macedonians were defeated by the Romans at Pydna in 168 BC. In 166 BC, the Romans granted Delos to the Athenians who once again ruled the Ionians – this time permanently – and installed their own settlers on the island. The Romans, who were therefore to regulate the fate of the Mediterranean, proclaimed Delos a free port aiming thus to precipitate the financial ruin of the rival Rhodians. The fact that Delos was exempted from tax (*teleia*) by the Romans, as well as its exceptionally favourable geographical location and the destruction in 146 BC of Corinth, hitherto an important commercial centre, resulted in Delos becoming the hub of the transit trade between East and West. North and South, Universal Rhodes was economically ruined, as revenues from her port dropped from one million to 150,000 drachmas;²² while Delos soon became the maximum *emporion totius orbis antiqui* (Pestov), the greatest commercial centre in the world: “Notwithstanding the fact that Delos was almost a glorified”, writes Strabo²³ at the end of the 1st cent. BC, “the total destruction of Corinth by the Romans made it even more glorious. Importers wanted their businesses in Delos because the Sanctuary provided asylum and because the port was in a good position for people travelling from Italy and Greece to Asia. The feast of the god is a sort of commercial festival and the Romans, more than other people, frequented the island even before the destruction of Corinth. When the Athenians got the island they looked after both the religious festivals of the Sanctuary and the importers.”

A natural by-product of the island's growing wealth was the sharp increase in population and intense construction activity. The city grew larger, new districts spring up and many private residences and public buildings were constructed.

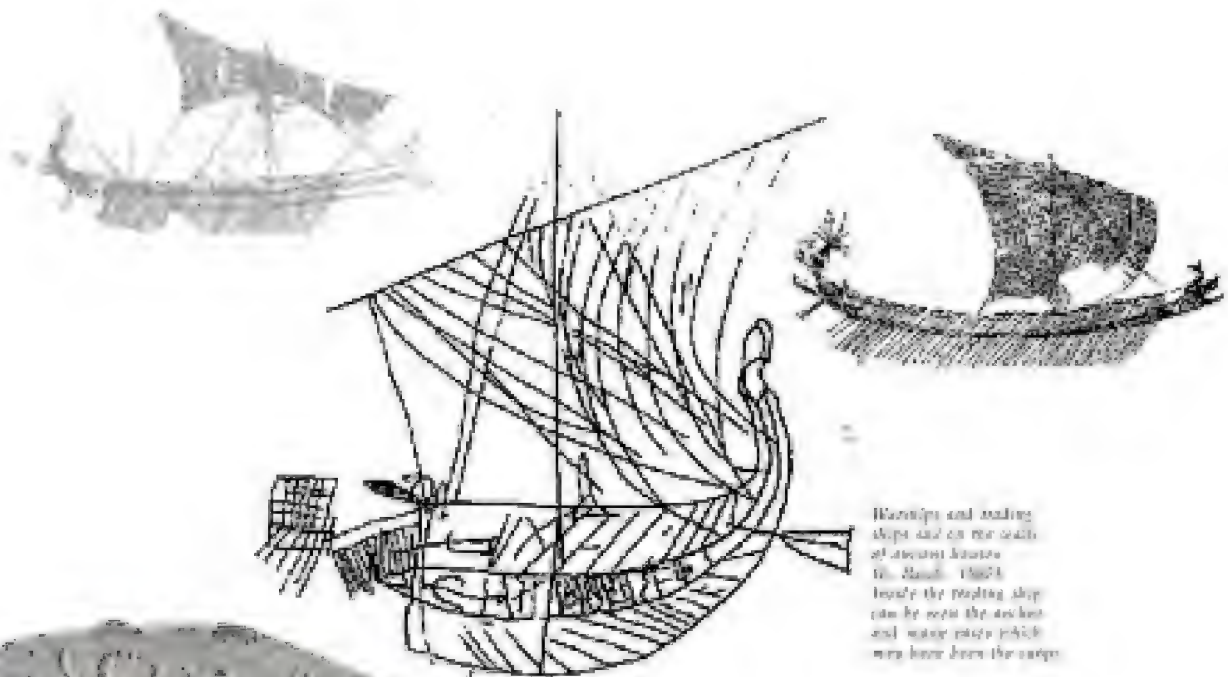
The archaic port in the northwest of the island was small and could no longer serve the increased commercial activity, so the necessary new harbour installations were gradually built on the more favourable western part of the island.²⁴ While in previous centuries the city was an offshoot of the Sanctuary, henceforth the city and the Sanctuary were to become subordinate to the port. In addition to the Sacred Port, there were four other commercial ports for the large merchant vessels of the time. It has been estimated that 150 murephoroi (merchant ships with a 250-ton capacity) and 100 smaller passenger and fishing vessels could anchor simultaneously in these harbours (which were approximately 1500 m. long). On the noisy wharves where the light, any Greek tunics co-existed mixed with the colourful, exotic apparel of foreigners, ships from all over the Mediterranean were constantly loading and unloading tons of merchandise and thousands of slaves. “Delos”, writes Strabo²⁵ at the end of the 1st century BC, “in one day could import and export tens of thousands of slaves; that is why there was a saying ‘merchant come to the port, unload and all is sold’. The reason for this is that the Romans, who were rich following the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, needed many servants.”

The seafaring inclination of the island's inhabitants, the majority of whom were employed in the maritime trade, is evident in both the Sanctuary and the city. Marine motifs were very popular: musaki (boats were frequently decorated with anchors, tridents and Tritons; children played with boats and anchors and drank from bottles shaped like fish or dolphins and the nights were lit by ship-shaped lamps).

Dolphins were often depicted on mosaic floors, on jewellery, on marble *corinthia* (bases of a group of statues with a bench in front) in the Sanctuary and on statues of Aphrodite. Since ancient times, Aegean fishermen and sailors have been familiar with these charming mammals who appear when the sky is clear and the sea is calm, and follow ships, cavorting and playing on the surface of the sea. Because these friendly companions of lonely sea voyages usually appeared after the storms of the spring solstice, which was when

sea voyages would begin again after the winter. They were associated with Apollo-Helios (Dolphinios), the god who could pass through the dark of storms, dissolve black clouds and calm stormy seas. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, the god himself, transformed into a dolphin, led Cretan sailors to Crete and to Delphi to become his first priests there. The *Delphinia*, a festival in honour of Dolphinios Apollo, protector of sailors, and celebrated on 6 Mounychion (March-April), was the official start of sea voyages. As the harbingers of good weather, dolphins were symbols and companions of the maritime deities (Poseidon, Amphitrite, Nereids), and protectors and helpers of sailors. In mythology and in the modern folk tradition, dolphins have been associated with the miraculous rescue of shipwrecked sailors (Pelamachus, Arion, Phaulonius, Coeranus) and with ferrying the bodies of the dead back to land for burial (Melicertes, Hecate).

Dovens of pictures of ships were found incised on the walls of ancient houses. Fishing boats, warships, and merchant vessels are depicted showing their rigging and equipment in great detail, making these walls a unique illustrated encyclopedia of the ships that sailed the Mediterranean in the 1st century B.C. Many of these drawings were made by sailors passing through after the destruction of Helos. The custom was continued in later years, possibly in the belief that the image of a ship on the holy island would put that ship under the protection of the god – similar to the modern custom of hanging silver votive offerings under icons. Many ships and the names of sailors have been incised on marble in the Sanctuary, while carved on the base of the Colossus of the Naxians can be seen some of the earliest evidence of the presence of the American fleet in the Aegean: Captain M. C. Perry, U.S.N., 1826.



Warships and sailing ships and on the walls of ancient houses in Helos. 1887-1888. Inside the sailing ship can be seen the anchor and water pipes which were lower down the ship.

Carvings incised by Americans on the base of the Colossus of the Naxians.

The City

In fertile

southern Rheneia (Amthusa), an ancient city was discovered that had been abandoned in the 5th century BC when part of the hill on which it was built tumbled away and tumbled into the sea. It is possible that at the period when Delos still retained its exclusively sacred character, this may have been the original city where people lived who were not directly involved in the operation of the Sanctuary. It seems that following this disaster, some people settled on Delos. By the end of the 5th century BC, in addition to the priests and servants who were required to run the enormous Sanctuary, there were also many other inhabitants on the island. Ancient inscriptions indicate that the Sanctuary owned many houses which were rented to people. The few surviving place names indicate that these houses were located in the region of the Impos River, near the Hippodrome, but chiefly near the port, as trade had begun to flourish on the island. Indicative of the number of residents on the island is the fact that by the beginning of the 3rd century, when the theatre was still dominated by men (playwrights, sponsors, actors and audiences were all male), a theatre with a seating capacity of 6,000 persons was built.¹¹

The city seen by the modern visitor spread over the slopes of the six low hills surrounding the small valley of the Sanctuary within a few decades after 468 BC, when the *asteia* was declared. The result of this rapid growth was a haphazardly built city with no town plan and no regular street layout. This is especially evident in the Theatre Quarter, the oldest quarter of the city, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the Athenian landholders who had settled on Delos; they were small landowners who constituted a sort of gentry which was desperately trying to exist alongside the financial oligarchy that ran the island. They engaged in commerce, while cultivating grain and vines on their land and keeping bees, cattle and swine. Their houses are well-organised mansions with wine presses to crush grapes and cellars and storerooms with large clay jars for storing must and cereals.

The Theatre Quarter was the most expensive neighbourhood in the city which is why all those who wanted to have a house there tried to take maximum advantage of their land, and as a result, there is great variety in the ground plan of houses and the streets are narrow and irregular. Wealthy and average houses are side by side, with no class distinctions. In many cases, two small houses were joined together to better serve the needs of new owners. This is what a certain Cleopatra did, adding a luxurious marble peristyle to a court that was too small for such a structure. But, the neighbours' houses had such peristyles and obviously Cleopatra thought it *de rigueur* for her family's social standing.

In front of the houses, connected to the main building by a door, there are small shops in which slaves would sell their master's products. When shops were rented to a merchant, the connecting doors were sealed off. Tall houses did not allow the sun to penetrate through to the narrow (1.45-3 m. width) irregular streets, which must therefore have been dark, damp and full of mud during the winter. With its lack of planning and crowded, unclean lanes, the Theatre Quarter resembled a medieval town.

In the newer quarter of Skantanos, inhabited mainly by well-to-do Italians and foreign merchants, it is evident that there were attempts to follow a city plan and build in city blocks, but it was not always adhered to. The streets in this region are much wider (4.50-8 metres) but gradual encroachments kept being made in order to enlarge the houses and create new shops. The shops built to the east of the House of the Dioskouroi and the Establishment of the Ptolemaei decreased the width of the avenue leading from the port of Skantanos to the Sanctuary by 3 metres and the owners of the Lake House similarly appropriated 3 metres of the public road, narrowing it from 4.50 to 1.50 metres. In every unexploited nook and cranny in the already densely populated city centre, new little shops, craftsman's workshops and houses kept spring-

ing up. It is obvious that the wealthy new residents did not see Delos as their homeland but as a temporary seat for their professional activities.

However, the city had a complete drainage system: each house's drains were connected to the main network that ran along all the streets. Wastes were dumped into the sea.

Owing to the contour of the terrain, the narrow, stone-paved streets of the Theatre Quarter and the dirt roads in the other districts were all fairly steep, and steps had to be built in some places. Naturally, carts and carriages could not use these roads and neither could pack animals because there were shops on either side of the street with heavy pedestrian traffic throughout the day. So the transport of heavy items and the re-stocking of shops probably took place between sundown and dawn.

None of the shops in the city have a latrine, nor are there any public latrines in the four large markets or within the Sanctuary. There were few women to be seen in these areas, and the men who frequented them had few inhibitions, as the behaviour of Kleppias and Phredippades in the comedies of Aristophanes indicates. Typically, the site on which the first Satrapium was built is described as "a place full of faeces", while in the financial reports of the Sanctuary, reference is made to sums of money allocated for cleaning and the removal of faeces. It seems that there were no other provisions made for cleaning the city or for dealing with refuse. One street north of the Avenue of the Lions, which was excavated in recent years, was found to be full of heaps of rubbish (remains of food, broken vessels, useless tools) and it seems that streets and public spaces generally were in a similar condition. At the Minoan Fountain, as early as the 4th century BC, there was an inscription forbidding washing, bathing or throwing rubbish into the water. Another inscription from 281 BC, which still stands in its original place, prohibits the throwing of ashes or dung near the shrine of Leto and the Temple of Dionysos, while a third inscription stipulates strict fines for anyone allowing pigs and other animals to graze in the Sanctuary.¹¹ Such prohibitions would have been meaningless if pilgrims, transit merchants and inhabitants had respected the city's public spaces.

Compared to other contemporary cities and particularly to Alexandria, "which is crossed by wide avenues so that horses and carts can pass; indeed, there are two streets which have a width of over thirty metres",¹² Delos was little more than a small, haphazardly built, dirty commercial city. The only thing that made it different was the existence of the ancient Sanctuary and the myths surrounding it.



[illegible]

Gradually, merchants from other places settled on the island, and when, as a result of the policy, Rhodes became the hub of the eastern Mediterranean transit trade, a host of architects, contractors, builders, engineers, craftsmen and labourers flocked to the island to serve the wealthy merchants, bankers and shipowners. It is estimated that in 80 BC, this little island, a mere dot on the map of the Mediterranean, was home to some 30,000 people. In addition to the permanent residents, there were always many merchants and sailors passing through and a large number of visitors during the festivals. Embassadors, mercenaries, actors, musicians, teachers, artists and merchants would arrive on the island continuously, bringing their specialised skills and knowledge and the latest trends in art and fashion, all of which were anxiously followed by the wealthy residents. Many stayed with friends, while merchants in transit stayed at their club houses. The rest could find accommodation in the large hotel adjacent to the theatre, or in a cheaper inn below the stadium which had benches on which customers could either lay out their bedding or sleep wrapped in their cloaks. In the ground floor were a dining hall and latrines, possibly stables for animals and a few small rooms which housed all those who could afford to pay a bit extra for some privacy. There were more private beds-rooms on the upper floor overlooking the inner courtyard.

Despite their varying origins, all these people coexist peacefully. They adopt the Greek way of life, they speak and write in Greek, live in Greek style houses, and build temples where they worship their own gods without fear of intolerance; they work and entertain themselves together. Their children attend the same gymnasia, they play and exercise together in the same palaestra. The list of young people graduating from the "Gymnasium of Rhodes" — an expensive private school similar to modern English public schools where the children of wealthy families had the opportunity to develop useful contacts — in 120-125 BC, gives an idea of the composition of the population of Rhodes. The youths who officially came of age in that year were:

Jason son of Iphicrates from Myrmeneus (Athens), Philomen son of Philomen from Miletus, Alypes son of Apollonius Angelithos (Athens), Meniskus son of Leontius from Rome, Gaius son of Gaius from Rome, Protagoras son of Protagoras from Parosia (Athens), Helman son of Diogenes from Alexandria, Gaius son of Aulus from Rome, Hicetatus son of Decultus from Aradus, Lucius son of Gaius from Rome, Demetrius son of Hermias from Sidon, Jason son of Jason from Antioch, Theophilus son of Theophilus from Corfu, Hermegeus son of Philodemos from Paph, Gaius son of Gaius from Rome, Diadatus son of Diogenes from Antioch, and Anidenus son of Antiphonus from Laodicea.

Thus, perhaps for the first time in history, people from almost all the lands of the Mediterranean co-existed peacefully on this little Aegean island. In the ports and on the streets many different languages could be heard. In the markets goods could be purchased from the remotest corners of the world and many different currencies were in use. The ships constantly arriving at the Delos port brought not only goods to be traded, but also people and ideas and news from most coastal cities, so that the whole world seemed like a small neighbourhood around the Mediterranean.

With such a cosmopolitan ambience, life in the city was intense and full of opportunities for business transactions and financial agreements, but also for all manner of entertainments. Sing and dance never stopped on Delos: "the surrounding islands circle around as if they were a dances' circle". Callimachus chases, "hoofy-haired, Hesperus never late for sleep and quiet, but always shouts, The boy-sing and the boy-sing and the girl dancing from night to day in time to the night". In addition to the Sanctuary sites, a visitor could browse in the markets, jostle with the crowds in the port, attend athletic events or go to the theatre. Anyone not invited to a symposium at a friend's house could eat at the inn or buy food from street vendors or from makeshift outdoor cookhouses. A visitor could also go to the baths or one of the brothels or spend time slowly sipping a drink, talking and playing dice at a tavern.

The realistic portraits found in some houses show a number of faces from these times. The few "portraits" of Greeks still depict idealised faces displaying a pervasive conscious melancholy. Rich Roman freedmen, Levantines and African merchants posed unsmiling, serious and aloof, but the Roman *gentilis* that they are trying to emulate sits like a mask on their, a mask worn for so long that it can no longer be removed – it has become one with the face beneath. Their pinched and anxious expressions recall Cavafy's *Epitaph "Finger from Western Libya"* where

Was meant to pretend to be thought one smiling also
An ordinary, laughable man.
He took a Greek name, dressed like the Greeks,
learned to behave Greek or less so Greek day
and he quaked in his boots but
he won his passable impression
by speaking Greek with Greek manner...
Which was why he funded himself to few friends,
taking especial care over his deceptions and his accents:
and he was not a little bored, having
on some emotional ground covered up inside him.

Strange or deformed human types are portrayed with the same realism in terracotta figurines. These works by minor artists and craftsmen of no particular repute record – in the manner of a modern photo-portrait – the average man on the street, the masses of haw-mu and the odd-looking people wandering through the city, Ethiopians, hunchbacked dwarves, dancers, drunk old ladies, jesters, street performers and vendors, beggars, priests, exhausted slaves who have dropped off to sleep, and people of vastly different ethnic origins give a vivid picture of the real population of the city, which was of course not populated solely by privileged, well-dressed *bonobon*.

In statues, wall paintings and figurines, women are portrayed as particularly elegant, aloof, proud, dignified, and almost always in the same stance – one which emphasises the torso and breasts. In contrast to classical art in which young maidens with adolescent breasts are preferred, in the Hellenistic period there is a clear preference for well-developed womanly bodies. The ideal female body can be seen in the nude statues of Aphrodite: full curves, small breasts and sharply defined – the part of the female and the male nature

my which, as the literature and the sculpture of the time attest, was the focal point of attention. Athletic Athens might be portrayed dressed in a short chiton and Aphrodite nude; mortal women, however, are covered from head to foot in long chitons and *himation* that leave nothing exposed to the eye of the viewer. For girls of good families at least, there was obviously a strict code governing both behaviour and appearance. However, the draped chitons and the fine transparent *himatia* are worn in such a way as to highlight and emphasise the curves of the body.

Cosmetics, initially used only by *hetairai* (courtesans), were now used by women of all social classes. After all, even goddesses use cosmetics. Modest Hera, a married lady and mother of four children, does not have time to use Aphrodite's arts in order to attract Zeus' attention. In fact she went into a bathing rage when her daughter Angrios stole her face cream and gave it to Europa, Zeus' mistress. The pedantically conservative Xenophon condemns these cunning practices by women. In *Oeconomicus*, when the thirty-year-old Isomachus sees that his fifteen-year-old wife has "smeared her face with a lot of pomphos so that she would not wrinkle and need rouge to look nice and trim [she does it to look better]", he draws a cynical analogy: "Tell me, wife, what you would think if I pretended I was another man than I am, and if I showed you the shining you plated onto, gold of my face necklaces, and faded purple garments, and told you that all these were me?" Aristophanes and the comic poets, satirising women's efforts to look more beautiful, thus provide information about their daily habits; however, one should bear in mind that all the information we have about women in antiquity is provided by men. Lucian,¹⁰ who seems quite familiar with the process, describes a lady's morning toilette: "If someone were to see a woman in the morning when she wakes up, he would think her uglier than a monster. That is why women shut themselves up in their rooms and allow no man to see them. They are surrounded by old bags and a host of servants as they do themselves up: they wash their faces with various potions, each around holds something different, some brush, some anoint, many little boys who are reminiscent of a pharmacy, vessels full of pathetic things to lighten their look and darken their lashes. But most hours of all are devoted to their coffers. Some of them, mixing nature, put substances on their hair that turn it red as the midday sun; others dye it blonde. Those of them, on the other hand, who are happy with their black hair, spend their husbands' fortune on scents so that their hair is redolent of all the perfumes of Asia. With metal instruments heated on a low fire, they force their hair to curl and make complicated curls which reach down to their shoulders, hiding their foreheads, while the back ends are free to fall down their backs. Coloured waxes follow so much that the drops dig into their flesh, and then greasy ointments which supposedly cover their nakedness. But all is covered through the sheer fabric, even better than their faces except for their filthy heads which they strap up tightly like prisoners. And need I refer to the most expensive of robes? The stoles from the Red Sea that cost a fortune and hang heavily from their ears, the snake-shaped golden bracelets on their wrists and arms. On their heads they wear diaphanous veils dusted with precious stones from India, on their necks hang expensive necklaces, gold hangs down to their knees and trunks around any part of their bodies as yet unadorned. Then, when all of their body shines with false beauty, they apply rouge to their cheeks to highlight their pale skin..."

As testified by the archaeological findings and iconography, the elegant and vain women of Uelos did all of the above. *Strophidia*, many copper beauty instruments and much jewellery have been found. Their hair is impeccably styled in elaborate styles held with ribbons and diadems – but always modestly off the face, at the back or on top of the head, never left loose like the fashions of Archaic times.

It seems that although modesty imposed some limits on women, this was not the case for men. The Greeks, studying the human body, believed that the athlete's nudity of their men, the mark of a higher civilisation, differentiated them from the "barbarians", who covered their bodies with shaggy robes and anagrides (trouser-like hose). Following the example of the gods, young men do not hesitate to display their well-muscled bodies and their assets, which are much in evidence as they do not wear underclothes. They wear short *chitons* and a *himation* thrown over their shoulders, or simply a *himation*, which older men use to cover their bodies with dignity. Older and younger men alike are portrayed shaven, with short hair and harmoniously exercised bodies. Statues of Heracles demonstrate the ideal male form, whose affection for the tender Asian boys who are extolled in the poems of the time, and again centuries later in the poetry of Cavafy, is apparent in the statues of Apollo and Dionysos. Homosexuality however has lost its aristocratic moral idealisation and is simply a personal sexual choice. The youths who inspire such passions are no longer the virtuous, pure youths of the Platonic dialogues. One, languid and bittersweet, is worshipped in the *gymnasium* alongside muscular Heracles and the ideally beautiful Hermes. The marble benches of the *Gymnasium* – like today's wooden ones – are full of teenagers¹¹ incised graffiti declaring their friendships and crushes (among the dozens of names written, only one is a female name, Calliste).



"Εὐφραΐνουελά": Relief of a group of figures, possibly depicting a scene of punishment or coercion. (Photo: Dr. Miliou)

Throughout the entire city, on the streets and in houses, a diffuse eroticism is prevalent in a strongly playful mood. The relief phalluses found on the walls of homes are not always deterrents of evil or symbols of fertility, but are sometimes depicted as instruments of punishment and coercion. This is also clear from the fact that it is not the small elegant phalluses of Greek statuary that are presented, but large, "barbaric" phalluses that have been circumcised, a practice which the Greeks abhorred and never adopted. These images do not provide a promise of enjoyment but constitute a not too subtle threat of torment and humiliation. Often the phallus is combined with a club, making it even clearer what a would-be invader would suffer: a message surviving in stereotyped modern Greek verbal threats. In the Sanctuary there are huge erect phalluses, votive offerings to Dionysus. In a lighter vein are the relief phalluses decorating the walls of houses and bearing the inscription: "ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥΕΛΑ" which gives them a totally different meaning. On another relief a naked male protects his buttocks with his hand from the incursion of a winged phallus aiming at precisely that part of his anatomy. Another relief depicts a male figure with two phalluses, holding up a winged phallus. Many lamps and wine cups are decorated with erotic scenes: a nude Aphrodite or beautiful adolescent Dionysus, while on others Satyrs hold baskets full of phalluses. A series of rhyta made on Delos constitute tongue-in-cheek variations of the ceremonial cup: the ritual basin of the sacred animal has been replaced with couples kissing or making love, while on the horn part are lily-phallic Satyrs pursuing Hemaphysditas.

Many marble and terracotta phalluses of varying sizes have been found in the small temple of Dionysus, in shrines and in private houses. Most likely, there were many more phalluses made of perishable materials such as wood, leather and cloth, which have not survived. From the words of Aristophanes in *Lyssistrata*, it seems that phalluses were not always solely votive offerings – sometimes they could be used. Herondas (3rd cent. BC) in *Phallosomachos* records a dialogue between two women, neighbours and friends, talking about a phallus made of red leather and showing the solidarity of women in such matters:

ΜΙΤΡΑ: Now, please, don't lie to me my dear Kerkira, who sewed the red phallus for you?
ΚΕΡΚΙΡΑ: Kerkira, a short, bald fellow, sent to me by Artemis, the shoemaker's daughter. He comes to me, holding two in his hands and when I saw them I just gaped; better poems – we're alone, after all. They're never that good! And that's not all! Soft as soap and the straps like down, not leather. But where did you see it, Mitro?
ΜΙΤΡΑ: The day before yesterday. Nivesa, Kerkira's daughter, had it – oh what a lovely gift! Kerkira, Aris's daughter, gave it to her and told her we one must know.
ΚΕΡΚΙΡΑ: Woman! Just you see, she will be the death of me. She begged it of me and I gave it to her, Mitro, even before I used it. And she – you'd think she's the one who found it, the way she acted – grabbed it and gave it to some who don't deserve it. Well, to hell with her, let her find another friend. To give something of mine to Nivesa! May the gods forgive me for saying more than is fit for a woman to say, but even if I had a thousand of them, I wouldn't give one to her, not even a cotton one!

These phalluses are often equipped with eyes, like the prows of ships. Eyes were as necessary for phalluses as they were for ships; because both have to find their way in the dark to enter the port.

Seeing things from a distance, chronological or geographical, one tends to idealise. It is likely, however, that the lives and attitudes of most of the inhabitants of Delos did not differ greatly from the life and attitude of Timachos in Selymbria. In many houses the anxiety of the *naucrarxai* riches is evident as, pressured by the fact that they were *not* *subditi*, they attempted to carve out a social niche for themselves by ostentatious and wasteful spending.

When people are not happy with the present, they become nostalgic and tend to believe that their great grandfathers were happier, more virtuous and had achieved more important things. In the Hellenistic period, the notion of the "classic" was created. Pheidias, Praxiteles, Polykleitos, Phidias, Sophokles, and Euripides became "classics" and anything new seemed inferior to their works. In the 2nd cent. AD a strong tendency can be seen to return to the patterns and models of the classical and archaic periods. Then, as today, people would more readily buy copies of a work by an established dead artist than an original work by a restless, progressive contemporary. Wealthy Romans wanted to have something "classic" in their houses, because they believed it lent them dignity and good taste. Thus, gilded artists exhausted their talent mass-producing well-known statues or variations of them. The same happened on Delos. Everybody's house contains some more or less successful copies of "classic" works that they probably did not understand and may not even have liked, but at least they could say: "It's exactly the same as the one the provincial has in his house!"

One of the main characteristics of the cosmopolitan population living in Delos at the end of the 2nd cent. AD is their tendency to imitate and copy, and the mass production of cheap imitations: the plaster on houses is an imitation of the marble masonry of more luxurious buildings; complex relief decorations do not differ greatly from today's plaster ornamentation; columns made of cheap material, granite or pink stone are faced to resemble marble. Clay wine cups are copies of more expensive gold and silver ones; mosaic floors emulate expensive carpets; most jewellery is made of "coloured glass", while rings, sometimes even those offered to the gods, are made of gold-plated bronze or iron. Clay and marble statues are likewise often gilded. Portraits or copies of famous statues are placed in conspicuous positions in people's houses. The Athenian Cleopatra put her statue and that of her husband right opposite the main entrance to her house inscribing in the inscription that: "*Cleopatra, daughter of Adreas from Myrionae (somewhere near Thapsi Rakti) dedicates...*"⁷. All of these very human foibles make Delians more familiar and bring them closer to us.

Their role model was certainly not Athens, which at that time was little more than a provincial town living on the memories of past glory, but rather Alexandria, an amazing city with more than half a million inhabitants, a city where one could find everything he desired: *temples, palaces, power, pleasant climate, glory, spectacles, philosophers, gold jewellery, young men, the triumph of the Sibyl, Gods, an excellent king, the Muses, music, every pleasure you might yearn for and so many women that, by Phosphore, the sky cannot boast that it has as many stars and beautiful as goddesses...*⁸ In Alexandria, however, there were not only riches and pleasures; there was also intense intellectual and artistic activity similar to that of Paris in the interwar period. Delos never had anything comparable; it had no intellectual institutions like Alexandria's Museum or Library, and in artistic and technical terms, nothing original was ever achieved there.

The Houses

The houses of Hanoi, like garden houses, vary greatly in their floor plan, which was determined by the shape and size of the lot, the wishes of the owner, how much he was willing to spend, and the changes made by later generations. A common feature is that they all look inward: the houses are built around a square central court from which they receive light and air, and there are no exterior windows on the ground floor. In this way, the buildings were safer, cooler, quieter and protected from the noise of the city, while the private life of the residents was sheltered from the carelessness activity on the busy streets. The houses are generally spacious and comfortable. There are very few whose ground floor has an area of less than 120 square metres; many cover more than 500 square metres, an area which is doubled if one takes into account that most houses had more than one floor; there were some that occupy three or four levels.

From the street, a double door, the right side of which is left open, leads into a small square or rectangular space, the *lencout* (*lencium* or *praulium*) to the right of which is the *thymoron*, the room occupied by the *thymoros*, or doorman. The *thymoros* was a trusted servant whose job was not only to open the door for visitors, but also to monitor the comings and goings of the household. Across from the main entrance three



Idem played the latter down.
 cf. a handwritten = An. General. 1952b

is a second door kept closed, leading to the *aule*, the central open-air atrium surrounded by colonnades, the *peristyle* or *peristron*. Underneath the central part of the courtyard is a large cistern that collects rainwater from the roof. The roof of the cistern rests on arches of porous stone and is covered by a mosaic floor at a level lower than the floor of the peristyle. In the summer months, this was probably filled with water, which highlighted the colours of the mosaic and evaporated slowly to create a feeling of coolness. Around the atrium are the reception rooms, the ancillary areas, the slaves' rooms and the storerooms. On the ground floor is also the *andron*, a summer room open on front, the *andron* or *andros* – the formal reception room in which symposia were held, in which women did not participate – as well as men's bedrooms. Usually the bedrooms are at the back of the house so that strong sunlight and noise would not disturb people's sleep, and they are small enough to be easily heated in the winter. The *andron* usually faces south to receive maximum light in winter and shade in summer. In some cases, the colonnade of the peristyle in front of the *andron* is higher than the other three sides, so that this official room can receive more light.

Next to the secondary entrance, far from the main rooms, is the *apothekoterion* (latrine) and the *magisterion* (kitchen, or *enkoutheon*). A closed door isolates these two areas from the atrium to keep the masters of the house from being disturbed by any unpleasant smells.

The latrines were fairly noisy and could be used by many people at the same time. The seat of both public and private latrines, which Hippocrates called a *thronos*, was a closed, wooden bench with holes in the upper, horizontal surface, built over a ditch connected to the main drainage system. In private latrines there were usually spaces for three to five people – public latrines had room for more. Public latrines with a bench of granite or marble have been found in Ephesus, Athens and Amorgos. Such seats would undoubtedly have been pleasantly cool in the summer but extremely uncomfortable on cold winter days; in such cases, a slave would warm the seats before use by placing a clay vessel full of lit charcoal on them.

The baths were in a separate room with clay bathtubs. In the House of the Herms, two marble bench supports in the shape of lions' feet were found next to the bathtub. Clearly the upper part was wooden and bathers used it either to sit or rest their clothes on. Marble benches were also found in the Lake House and the House of the Seals, but a furniture item as simple, useful and cheap as this must also have been used in other houses, so it is virtually certain that most houses had wooden benches perhaps in the peristyle.

From the ground floor, a wooden or stone staircase led up to the top floor (*hyperton*), where visitors were not admitted. This was usually where the women's and children's rooms were, as was the *staza* (the weaving room with the loom) and other richly decorated and furnished private rooms. In some cases the *hyperton* is an independent apartment, accessed by an outer staircase.

The stone walls of the houses were covered inside and outside by plaster. Outside, the plaster was usually left white, while inside – by incising, relief and painting – it would imitate the marble masonry of archaic festival temples of more sumptuous buildings. The walls of the secondary rooms were left white but those of the main rooms were coloured in warm earthy tones (ochre or red) and had a narrow frieze decorated usually with a geometric design, stylised floral motifs or, more rarely, human figures. Even the ceilings were colourfully decorated, requiring many hours of hard labour.

The secondary rooms have beaten earth floors, frequently reinforced with broken seashells – waste from the porphyry workshops. These floors were difficult to clean, and when the situation became insufferable, another layer of earth was spread on top and levelled with stone cylinders. Some rooms, particularly on the upper storeys, may have had wooden floors; the open-air rooms, like Roman city streets, were sometimes paved with granite slabs. But the most common method of covering floors, especially in houses but in public buildings as well, was with mosaics made from a variety of stones set in strong bed of mortar on top of a specially prepared sub-stratum. Mosaic floors are durable, impressive, but also practical as they can easily be cleaned and washed. The simplest versions were made of pebbles or cheap, recycled materials: marble chips, waste from other buildings or from stonemasons' workshops, or fragments of broken wine jars. In atriums and main rooms, quite luxurious floors were made with especially cut square tesserae (the width of each side was 0.08–0.001 metres). A variety of stones and other materials were used to construct these floors that often resemble colourful carpets or paintings. The decorative themes are limited usually to geometric designs or stylised floral motifs, but there is also a definite preference for marine motifs (dolphins, seahorses, tridents, Tritons, fish), which is only natural as the owners of the houses make a living from maritime trade. Theatrical masks and figures taken from the Dionysian myths are also quite popular. Despite the length of

time required to create a floor with these tiny tesserae. Since the materials used were cheap and recycled, and the labour was also cheap, mosaics must have been less expensive than the silk carpets they imitated, and much cheaper than marble floors.

11

In winter, rooms were kept warm with portable braziers in which coal was burned. The few windows on the upper floors were shut tight with curtains of leather or pieces of waterproofed linen cloth. The doors also had leather or woven curtains to keep out draughts. Since such methods never truly warmed the large, high-ceilinged rooms, it is likely that these luxurious houses were built for summer residence alone.

ant. 1st

CRUSHINGS

The only furnishings to have survived from ancient houses are clay pots and pans, since it was difficult and expensive to transport them. Valuable bronze, silver or gold vessels were either looted by pirates or taken by the inhabitants when they left. Wooden furniture was either burned or disintegrated. Wall paintings, reliefs and figurines often depict types of chairs, tables and couches, giving an idea of what they must have looked like. These three items of furniture, along with stools and benches, constituted the main furniture of ancient houses. Woven chests of various sizes were used to store clothing; wooden shelves and *tabulae* (shelves) were used to store utensils, but most of them were simply hung on walls. Compared to modern houses, the houses of Delos would have looked quite empty, because in ancient times people did not need or have the number of decorative objects that fill contemporary homes. The few items of furniture used were plain, useful and functional but always, and this is true even for the cheapest objects, nicely designed and decorated. Even so, the large rooms, despite being sparsely furnished, did not look cold or bare. Colourful woven bedspreads and cushions, curtains and rugs, clay, bronze and silver vessels, decorated walls and mosaic floors created a warm and pleasant atmosphere, without smothering or stifling the inhabitants by their volume or number. In *Acronomikos*, Xenophon remarks that even pots can create an aesthetically harmonious picture when they are attractively arranged.

CRACKED STEAKS AND CRISPY VEGETABLES

The outlying island provided abundant fish and seafood, which were taken to the island. Farms in the south part of the island, on Mykonos and on Rheneia supplied the city with fresh vegetables and fruit; large quantities of imported foodstuffs (wine, oil, cereals, salted meats and fish, nuts and spices) were also sold in the local markets. In the city's major markets (*agoras*) or in the smaller shops that lined both sides of the streets, one could buy the best products of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Asia and Egypt.

Cooking was done in the *optanciae* (roasting pans) using charcoal or wood. Wood was cheaper but gave off oppressive smoke that blinded the slave who tended the fire and caused the ordinary cook to "reek of smoke", which was unacceptable to the professional cook: "It is typical of a master cook to supervise only, rather than scrub pots and stir up smoke. I do not even enter the optanciae; I ed something nearby and supervise, while the others tend to do: 'Heap the wood, build up the fire, make sure it is roasting evenly. The fire pot is at a fuller heat than the others'..."²⁶

The professional cook, before agreeing to be hired, made certain there was a *katalaggar* (roasted) cookhouse and that it had a *kypane* (chimney) that did not smoke, something that could not be taken for granted. In Delian houses, the *optanciae* are small, windowless houses, next to the secondary door, which remained open in order to let smoke, fumes and cooking smells out. "As soon as I pick up the necessary items and begin to cook," a cook of these times boasts, "no one can pass this narrow alley. Instead, he stands, speechless and overwhelmed at the door, and a friend, who is holding his nose, comes to fetch him!"²⁷ The atmosphere must have been stuffy in the narrow streets of the city when food was being prepared for dinner and houses must have been permanently blackened by the smoke. In the 5th cent. BC, Sicily was famous for its advances in the art of cooking and Sicilian cooks were highly sought after. During the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, Delos was the culinary capital of the Mediterranean, as it was inhabited by wealthy, cosmopolitan inhabitants who were known for their conspicuous consumption. Its markets and Delian cooks and hosts also contributed to this fame.

as we know them today. In a recipe by Sotades (4th cent. BC?) sardines were "fried" in one cup of water, plenty of oil and chopped greens, the result of which must have been similar to the modern Greek dish *plaki* (baked fish with vegetables).

11

To make food tastier and to help preserve it, many condiments, liquid, fresh or dried, aromatic herbs, nuts and fruits were used. The liquid condiments most used were *garum*, oil, honey, vinegar and wine. *Garum*, or *garos*, a special sauce used in everything, including wine, was made from fish placed in briny liquid and allowed to ferment in the sun for several days. The best *garum* was made from tuna, mackerel and eel, while the poor classes and slaves used *garum* made from sardines and other small fish.

In addition to liquid condiments, many seeds and nuts were used, chiefly pepper corns, which were added to everything, including sweets, as were cumin, mustard, celery, dill, fennel and poppy seeds. They are all small, and in antiquity they must have been more expensive than they are today. They were sold them, as now, in small quantities packed in small cheap narrow-mouthed clay containers to protect them from humidity and to control the amount used. Seeds were ground in a stone mortar with pestle. In similar utensils of different sizes, pigments were also ground for painting, as were medicines and the powders used for women's cosmetics.

Only large houses had *optatoria*. In most cases, cooking was done on portable braziers (*trachales*) in which coal or sticks were burned (*tsitrakia*). The simpler ones were like the braziers still used in neighbouring Mykonos and all over the Greek countryside. In a child's grave on Rheneia a beautiful miniature *eschara* was found together with a miniature pan (*lepas*); these were toys with which the dead childgal in her then life would have become familiar with cooking, considered "the greatest of skills for man and for woman alike."¹⁰ The simple braziers for cooking food over coal had places for many different cooking vessels, according to whether the food needed to boil or simmer or simply be kept warm. Urnlike braziers with coal were also used in the winter months for heating, because the smoke from a wood fire would have been suffocating in windowless ground floor rooms.

The shapes of cooking pots found in Delos are limited to a few common types, established through long use; these types were used centuries before and after, up to the present day. The basic pots were *chytrai* (cooking pots), *lepas*, *tegana* (pans) and *eschara*.

Chytrai were used to boil split peas, water, meat, broad beans, gravel, greens etc. For boiling large quantities, bronze or clay *chytrai* (cooking pots) were used. Such large cooking vessels were needed only for sacrifices or festivals and would not have been a necessary item in an ancient household, as they could be borrowed from a neighbour. Often one *chytra* or one handmill would serve an entire neighbourhood, as is still the case today in the provinces. The *lepas* was used to cook spicy, delicious foods, mainly fish, which was then served in the same pan so that the diners could dunk in the sauce. It was closed on top with a lid and the opening at the rim was sealed airt with either plaster, dough or ash so that fatty meats could be cooked without water, either in the oven or by covering the vessel with coal. The *lepas* was thus very similar to today's clay baker. Fish, cuttlefish, octopus and other seafood was cooked in the *tygane* or *tyganon*, a pan similar to the *lepas*, and served hot in it. The consumption of fried foods, which even in those days were considered unhealthy, was the sign of a sybaritic and prodigal existence. *Tegana*, like chytrai and *lepas*, are always found in three sizes (large, medium, small). They are vessels similar to the Byzantine *tepania* and today's *siganaka*.

The *seison* is a light clay pan similar to a modern frying pan. Its handle is hollow so that a wooden rod could be inserted in it to allow the cook to toast nuts slowly by shaking it constantly over the fire without getting burnt. On winter nights, people would huddle around the fire and roast broad beans and nuts in the *seison* over the *trachalia* to accompany their wine. The *seison* was an essential utensil in the cookhouse because, before using pinecones, cumin and other seeds, cooks would toast them lightly to bring out the flavour. The word *eschara* was used for both the brazier and a metal or clay mesh with four feet, similar to the modern gridiron, that was placed over heat to cook bread, meat, sausages or fatty seafood, such as eel.

Although the utensils of an ancient kitchen might seem few and poor by modern standards, they were highly prized and could even be used as collateral on a loan in time of need. In Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, a neighbour of Chremis, seeing the latter's cooking utensils outside his house, asks him: "Why have you brought them out, are you trading or are you taking them to be pawned?" In the wealthier homes on Delos, clay

plates and pots were found that had been broken and repaired with lead joints. People had a different sense of economy in those days; broken things were not thrown out, they were repaired and put to a different use or given to the slaves. Such vessels did not, of course, ever appear at banquets because they constituted a sign of abject poverty.¹⁶

WINE, FISH AND OLIVE OIL

The wine trade was particularly important to the island's economy as every year thousands of tons of Bacchus' beverage were bought and sold, large amounts of which were channelled into the local market. Wine was sold in large clay jars (0.00-1 metre high with a capacity of 20-45 litres) that were pointed at the bottom. This shape facilitated transport on ships, as large numbers of amphorae could be placed sideways in rows, one on top of the other. The long narrow shape helped in storage when the amphorae were placed in *pillares* or *cellars* (wine cellars), in which they were half buried in the ground so that the contents could be kept at a constant temperature; the shape was also useful in decanting the wine into smaller containers using the pointed bottom as a third handle. With the help of a *funnel* (*dunf*) identical to modern ones wine was poured into *lagynai*, jugs used at table with a long narrow neck so that the flow could be regulated. For the sale of wine and other liquids such as oil and *garum*, *prochoi* were used, clay jugs that were exact copies of the official bronze units of measurement. Each region favoured a certain shape of amphora and seals were stamped on the handles or on below firing to inform the buyer about the maker of the amphora, or the owner of the vineyard, the town of origin, and year of bottling, indicated by the name of the annual local ruler. Thus, the buyer knew at a glance when the wine was from and how old it was. Amphorae, which had an interior coating of resin or wax, were then hermetically sealed with a clay stopper. Oil, *garum*, salted fish, nuts such as almonds and hazelnuts, olives, even cherries, wheat, flour, broad beans and other pulses were all stored and transported in these well closed containers, thus protected from moisture, insects and mice. An inscription on the vessel indicated its contents.

Drinking wine, like song and dance, was an essential companion to all events in private and public life; its quality and the way it was served were decisive factors in the success of a sacrifice, a business meeting or a friendly symposium. The modern Greek word for wine, *krati*, is derived from the ancient verb *kraino* (which means "to mix"). Other words from the same root are *kratros*, the vessel in which wine was mixed with water, *kratos* (fellow), *krasis* (blend) and the modern Greek words *kratos* (to break), *krasina* (a treat) and *krati* (wine). Wine that had been mixed with water was called *epikrasis* *kratos*, while *akratos* *kratos* was strong, un-mixed wine. The Greeks believed that only Scythians and barbarians drank *akratos* *kratos*. They themselves always drank wine tempered with water so that they would not get drunk and that the enjoyment of drinking would last longer and drink would contribute to the merry-making and conversation. Getting drunk was a sign of bad manners, which is why at the bottom of wine cups, the evil effects of intoxication were depicted as a warning to drinkers. The comic writer Eubolus (6th cent. BC) has Dionysus saying: "I fill only three *kraters* for the temperate; the first for health, the second for love and pleasure, the third for a good sleep and when they have drunk that, the wise go home. The fourth is not from me, it comes from above; the fifth brings roundness; the sixth drunkenness; the seventh blows; the eighth brings the police; the ninth rage; the tenth brings madness and throws you down unconscious."

Identical advice can be seen even today hanging on the walls of taverns; but there, because wine is drunk *akratos*, the references are to glasses not to *kraters*:

The first brings appetite
The second love
The third brings joy
The fourth happiness
The fifth brings rest
The sixth guarantees
The seventh leaving
The eighth trouble
The ninth brings arguments
The tenth police.

Conservative Hekhal recommends three parts water and one part wine, but the more usual proportion of water to wine was 3:1, 4:1, or 5:1 and Greek wines were strong enough to take three parts of water without being considered weak. The 4:1 mixture was generally accepted, but if one watered the wine down more, guests would lose their lust that his wine was suitable only for dogs. Often, particularly in the winter months when hot wine was inished, herbs and spices were added. The ancient authors mention wine flavoured with rose, violets, thyme, dill, myrtle, pine, cypress, saffron, valerian, cinnamon, pepper, honey, garum and many other things. At symposiums, guests wore wreaths of ivy, myrtle or roses, the scent of which helped them stay sober and avoid hangovers and vomiting.”

In the cellars of Delian houses, dozens of amphorae were found containing wine from all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In some shops and taverns one could sample the best wines that the international market had to offer: the superb wines of Chios and Cos, wines from Rhodes, Cnidus, Phasos, Apollia, Cneparia, Carthage and Thinos. Such a *taberna vinaria* (small wine shop or tavern) was found a few years ago close to the little temple of Dionysus, in an exceptional location for such an enterprise: a few minutes away from the port and a few metres away from the eastern and northern ends of the Sanctuary from which pilgrims would emerge tired and thirsty. The male population of all ages walked frequently along this road leading to the palaestra, the hippodrome, the gymnasium and the stadium, and the surrounding area was full of shops and workshops. On the other side of the road were the public latrines, another temple and the Agora of the Italians, a meeting place for all the island's Italian businessmen. The tavern opened at the end of the 2nd cent. BC, chiefly to cater to foreign visitors, as Greeks did not frequent them, preferring friendly gatherings in private houses. Although the tavern and its cellar are quite small (the total area is just 16 square metres), 28 amphorae were found in it containing approximately 900 litres of wine, mainly from southern Italy and Cos. The quantity of wine is indicative of the success of this tavern. There were 140 clay cups for serving wine, in four different shapes, each of which held a specific quantity (from 0.3-0.4 litres). Amongst these cups 40 applied to type of clay cup) can be singled out for their relief decoration. They were made using moulds, many of them from the same mould, and were cheap imitations of Alexandrian silver cups. At the time the wine shop was destroyed, 38 cups had been in use and were found thrown on the eastern floor of the tavern. The remaining 102 cups were found stacked, one inside the other, along with many burnt pieces of the wooden furniture on which they were kept.

The tavern served only wine, hot or cold with nuts, which the customers consumed standing either in front of the wooden counter or out on the street whenever the weather permitted. The tavern had a lat in which a woman lived, either the owner or a prostitute – or both – since even in those days of individual freedom, no respectable woman would condescend to live above such an establishment. Athenodorus' pirates set fire to the tavern and totally destroyed it during the 68 BC raid. The customers left their wine and fled in a panic, the takerians did not even have time to collect the day's takings, and the woman in the lat left behind not only her cheap jewellery and paintings, but also her savings. Some 200 coins were found, proving that her customers were chiefly merchants and sailors from many Mediterranean cities (Cyprus, Hilyria, Colophon, Aradus, Seleucia, Antioch, Byrene, Myrina, and Italy). Currency from most cities was accepted and it appears that she had no problem being paid for her services in foreign currency, which she could easily exchange it at one of the nearby banks. What is remarkable, but also characteristic of those times, is the fact that the owners of such a shop were familiar with the value of so many different currencies. Globalisation seems to have been accomplished many centuries before our time.

SHOPS AND WORKSHOPS

Many craftsmen and labourers were drawn to this growing city because of the jobs to be found there. Workshops and industries transformed imported raw materials from all over the Mediterranean into luxury items for both the local market and export. 'The bronze couches and perfumes' from Ickos were famous and much sought after.

A district with markets, shops and workshops was soon created to the north and northeast of the Sanctuary, producing clay and bronze vessels, statuettes and figurines for pilgrims, toys, jewellery and clothes. Apart from the markets, there were many retail shops on the main street of the Theatre Quarter and in the peristies flanking the main road to the east and north of the Sanctuary. Workshops were located main-

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100-101

ly to the north and east of the Sacred Lake, apart from workshops such as the ones producing porphyry which were some distance from the city because of their unpleasant smell. Porphyry, an indelible dye ranging from yellow to deep purple extracted from the mollusc *Murex*, was a symbol of power and perpetuity. Purple garments could be worn only by statues of the gods or by powerful people. After gold, it was the most valuable and sought after symbol of power.

To the east and north of the Lake, in addition to the popular athletic establishments, there were also dozens of shops in which sculptors, bronze workers, lamp makers and potters worked as well as workshops manufacturing terracotta figurines and vases in the shape of animals or other figures, and shops that made lead objects. A little farther north, in the *Insula of the Brasses*¹⁰ (44) there was a workshop specialising in bronze caskets with rich relief decoration. The moulds and the relief decoration that were found there justify the reputation¹¹ enjoyed by this item of furniture in ancient times. In about the same district there were sculptors' workshops in which many craftsmen mass produced miniature copies of famous works of art to be sold to the local people and pilgrims. Many such shops were located to the west of the *Dodekathron*, in the *Agora of Theophrastus*, in the *Stoa of Philip*, south of the *Delian Agora*, in the *Agora of the Competelasts* and elsewhere. Just before the disaster the most popular statues were those of *Aphrodite*, *Hermes*, *Artemis*, *Hippocrates* and *Serapis*.

Workshops employed some free craftsmen but mainly slaves, and labour accidents were not uncommon. Nineteen slaves belonging to *Pectarchus* were killed in such an accident, among whom were *Ammonia* (from *Cyrene* and her daughter *Apollonia*). The stele erected on their grave in *Rheneia*¹² is indicative of the origins of the slaves on *Delos*: "*Isidor of Miletus, Diana of Miletus, Isidor of Apamea, Isthy of Istia, Calliope of Odesa, Demetron, Hermokles of Beroe, Antipater of Mazaea, Asclepiades of Sifos, Apollonides of Marissa, Nearchus of Ippa, Menekles of Mithraia, Iuseia of Marathia, Hecadites of Miletus, Neias of Miletus, Amosion and her daughter Apollonia from Cyrene, Nearchus of Apamea, Lucilla of Apamea, Eleana of Myndos, Zaidas of Nabatea, Diana of Beroe, citharas (slaves) of Potamion, five free girls*." The place names show that these slaves had come from the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, *Cyrene* and *Arabia*.



Encountering Gods and Mortals

BRIEF TOUR OF THE SITE

FROM THE PORT TO THE SANCTUARY

The visitor

arriving today disembarks between the Sacred Port (11) and the Commercial Port (12) on a narrow strip of land created at the beginning of the last century by the rubble resulting from the French Archaeological School's excavations. At that same period the Sacred Port was completely filled in, the coastal outline changed and a peninsula was created, dividing what was previously one bay into two. The earlier archaic harbour was farther north, in *Stratonikeia Bay* (52), while smaller port facilities existed to the southwest, at the *Asclepeion*, and to the northeast, below the *Stadium*.

A paved asymmetric square known as the *Agon of the Hellenes* or *Comptelasteion** (3) begins immediately after this quay. As early as the 3rd cent. BC, Italians began settling on *Delos*, their presence becoming stronger after the mid-2nd cent. BC, with Rome's rise to predominance. Most were bankers and merchants from South Italy and Sicily. These Italians were organized in various professional societies, each under the patronage of a god, whether *Apollon* (*Apolloniastes*), *Dionysos* (*Dionysias*) or *Hermes* (*Hermias*). In this square, the center of their commercial activities, they dedicated many monuments and altars. Most of them lived in the town's new quarters north of the Sanctuary, where, towards the end of the 2nd cent. BC, they built the so-called *Agon of the Italians* (30), the meeting place for the members of the Italian community. In about 100 BC, the Society of the *Comptelasteis* made its appearance in the square that now bears its name; its members were largely free men and slaves under the protection of the *Lares Comptelastes*, the gods of the crossroads. This square is studded with small temples dedicated to *Hermes*, the god of trade, many cylindrical votive altars, as well as a marble *exedra* that once held bronze statues. In the Sanctuary there are many such rectangular or semi-circular statue bases (*trapezai*) with marble benches for worshippers to rest.

The great main avenue (4), measuring 13 meters in width, begins at the square and leads to the Sanctuary of *Apollon*. To the left is *Hekata* the *Portico of Philip* (5), built circa 210 BC by King Philip V of Macedonia. A few years later, behind the *Portico of Philip*, another one was added, the *West Portico*, open to the dock and the harbor, and used for commercial purposes.

The *South Portico* (6) on the east side of the road was constructed after the mid-3rd cent. BC by the Kings of Pergamon. Behind the three colonnades were 14 small commercial shops and workshops. Through an entranceway in the middle of the building it communicated with the *Agon of the Hellenes* (3), the earliest *agora* or marketplace in the city.

Along both sides of the road, in front of the colonnades, stood dozens of marble and bronze statues; only their inscribed bases remain today.

* This name is sometimes written *Comptelasteion*. The text refers to the map of the island on pages 106-107.



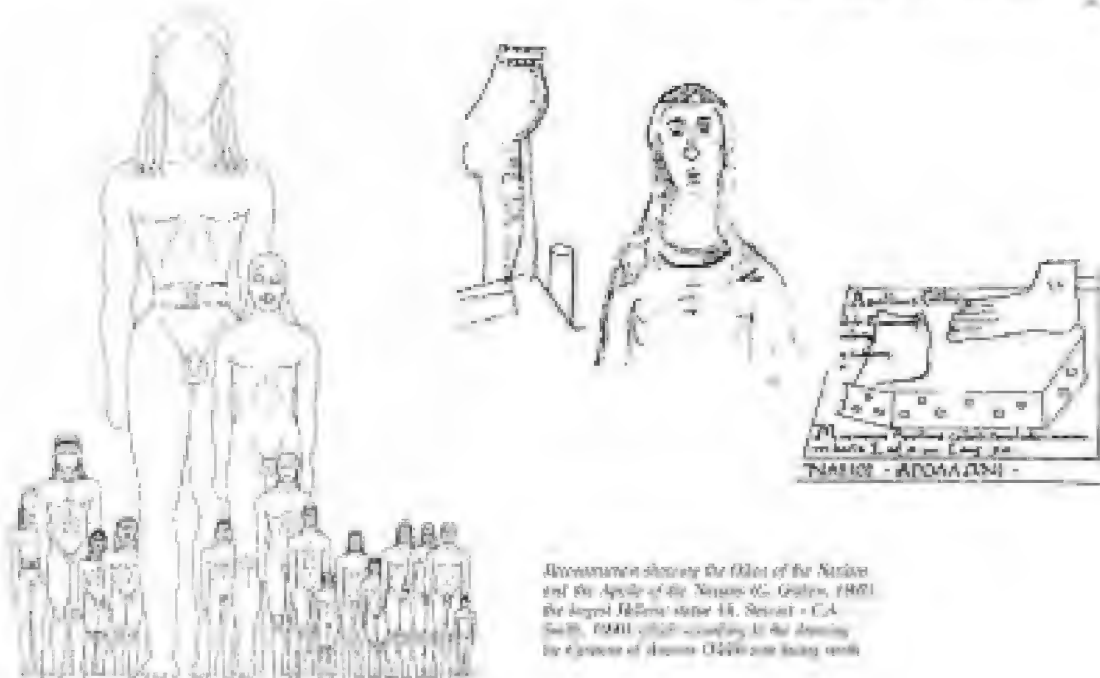
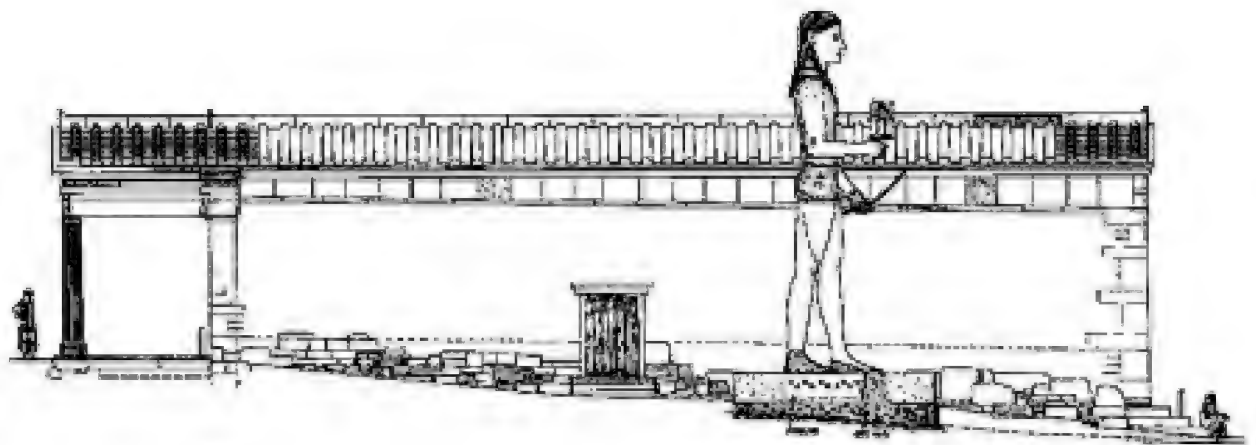
Reconstruction of the temple of Apollo
at Delphi. 1814/5

The Propylaea (36), the main entrance to the Sanctuary, was built during the 5th cent. BC, by the Athenians upon an earlier Propylon built in about 570 BC by the Naevians. Around the end of the 1st century, the impressive building complex comprising the *Stoa of the Naevians* (39) and the Propylaea was supplemented by an L-shaped Roman colonnade, the *Portico of the Naevians*. The circular marble base of the famous palm tree that was dedicated in 417 BC by the Athenian general Nicias is still visible near the colonnade's interior corner.

The Stoa of the Naevians was built in the early 4th cent. of large granite blocks. The portico on the west side had three columns between the ends of the long walls. During the mid-4th century, a second entrance with a marble porch was added on the east facade. The pitched marble roof was supported by eight slim Ionic columns that divided the interior of the building into two aisles. There are different theories about the use of the building: some hold that it was the earliest temple of Apollo, others that it was used to store sacred vessels and votive offerings, or yet others that it was a dining hall.

Outside the northwest corner of the building is the huge marble base weighing approximately 32 tons that supported the towering Colossus of the Naevians, a statue of Apollo approximately 9 metres in height, dating to the early 1st cent. BC. The god was depicted in the *koanis* type, nude, frontal, with long hair, sturdy shoulders, and the left foot placed slightly in front of the right. In his hands he held either a bow and arrows, or the Three Graces. The surviving pieces bear the holes that served to fasten the statue's bronze locks and belt. The god's right hair was visible from the sea, and the *lithos Arctios* of the locks ended at its base. Even when the Sanctuary was covered with buildings, the head of Apollo was visible from all sides.

The statue had a tumultuous history as early as ancient times. According to Plutarch, at one point the bronze palm tree of Nicias fell over and knocked down the statue. The Naevians retained it in its base and it was apparently then that they inscribed the west side of the base: *To Apollo from the Naevians* (ΛΟΙΩΝ ΝΑΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ). The east side bears one of the earliest Greek inscriptions: *and Apollo and the Naevians made this statue and base, I am made of the same stone*. In more recent times, the statue's impressive size drew the attention of travellers, as well as "collectors" of antiquities, who as far back as the 15th century, carried off sections. In 1416 the Florentine Cristoforo Buondelmonti¹² reports that he and his comrades attempted to raise the colossus: "we also saw upon a plain on *Delos* an old sanctuary constructed of many columns and a huge statue fallen upon the ground, so ruinous that though we were over a thousand men and had all the equipment and ropes from our ships we were unable to raise it. Thus we despaired and left it at the same location. We also saw a variety of other statues, created with amazing skill, never cast down upon the earth, others covered with mounds of earth."



Discussions showing the effect of the Native and the Apache of the Nations W. Gates, 1901 the degree of the state 14, Native - C.A. Smith, 1901, 1902 according to the drawing for a picture of August 1900 not being with



*The Agents of the Nations
Before Being Feted. Serge
de Vigny. 1973.*



The Great Temple or Temple of the Delians (10). Courtesy: G. Poullos, 1988.

In 1445 Cyriacus of Ancona sketched the surviving sections of the colossus which, according to the sketch, was facing north (and not west) looking towards the pilgrims who disembarked in Skarlonas bay and walked down the Avenue of the Eilers to reach its base and Karaton, the final point of their pilgrimage. In 1650 the French Ambassador de la Haye mentions that he observed the British sawing the statue in two. Around 1675, either a British captain or the Venetian Governor of Tinos cut off its head, all trace of which has since disappeared. At one time an attempt was made to haul away the remaining sections, but was unsuccessful because of their weight, and the parts were abandoned in front of the Artemision (16). The statue's torso and pelvis are still there; the British Museum has a section of the left leg, and the Delos Museum has the left hand. In 1913, Demosthenes Pappas recorded a Mytilenean tale associated with the Apollo of Naxos, as narrated by Frangiskos Naxos:

"Apollo was King of Asia (Naxos) and the secret lover of the princess, daughter of the King who reigned at Delos, which was then a great kingdom. Every night he would don his unseen wings and fly from Asia and come to Delos to find her. Now as time went by the secret was revealed. And her father did not accept this, and cast her out and took her to Mytilene and on that island, which had no houses then and was simply a barren site, he built a small castle in which he imprisoned her. And Mytilene lost on the coast of Mytileneans [Mitylenaios=afelivros], after the adulterous princess whom they imprisoned there. Apollo, when leaving Delos, was caught by the day and his unseen wings melted in the sun and he fell into the sea and drowned. And behold, the princess' deception was revealed."

Many *kyanros* type statues of young men were found in the Sanctuary, votive offerings to Apollo from the inhabitants of Naxos and Tinos. In the earlier museum catalogues they are listed as "archaic Apollos" and it is indeed difficult, unless they are holding some symbol, to distinguish whether they represent the god himself, heroes, dead youths elevated to the status of heroes, victorious athletes, or simply young worshippers. These athletic youths display their well-trained bodies confidently under the pitiless Cycladic light with a distant, enigmatic smile. This smile suggests they inhabit a superior world, to which common mortals will never have access.

Immediately after the Oileas of the Naxians are the three temples of Apollo. The first, which was also the largest, was dedicated by the Delians and is therefore known as the *Great Temple*, or *Temple of the Delians* (10). It is the only peripteral temple on Delos, with six Doric columns on each narrow side and 13 on each long side. Its construction coincided with important events in the island's history. Construction, which was funded by the Treasury of the Delian League, began in about 470 BC, but the building process was interrupted in 454 BC when the Treasury was transferred to Athens. Work began again during the Period of Independence, after 334 BC, but was never completed and the columns (scattered around the temple) were never finished. Inside the temple was the cult statue of the god and many centuries' worth of precious offerings, which transformed it into a kind of Museum of the Sanctuary's history.

Next to it is the temple referred to in the inscriptions as the *Temple of the Athenians* (11). For its arch-



The Temple of the Athena
(cf. Köhler - G. Hansen 1991)
and its reconstruction of
the acroteria by A. Hatzidakis

structures. Athens sent valuable white Pentelic marble and the required experienced craftsmen, who probably worked under the supervision of Callistratos, the master craftsman of the Temple of Nike. Built between 425-420 BC, and probably inaugurated circa 417 BC by General Nikias, it was an amphiprostyle temple in the Doric order, with 6 columns on each narrow side. Inside the cella, seven statues were placed upon a horse-shoe-shaped base of gray-blue Eleusian marble, hence the inscriptions referring to the temple as the House in Which stand the Seven Statues (*Oikos ên ô tō deuthi*). The excavations unearthed many sections of the temple's wonderful acroteria. The east side's central acroterion depicts Boreas, King of Thrace, the personification of the north wind, abducting the young princess Oreithyia, daughter of the Athenian King Erechtheus and Prokris. According to the legend, Boreas seized the princess as she was dancing on the banks of the Ilissos River and took her to Thracia. Their offspring were the winged brothers Calais and Zetes and two daughters, Cleopatra and Chione. The central acroterion on the west side depicts Eos (Dawn) carrying off the handsome Cephalus, another Athenian hero, son of Hermes and princess Eire, sister of Oreithyia. On January 15, 1881, Thraskiots Kaviadis, the Ephor of Antiquities of the Prefectures of the Cyclades and Euboea gave a very lively description of the former group in the *Catalogue of the Delian Museum on Mykonos*, but he misinterpreted the scene.

"The group depicts Persephone abducted by Hades, who bending the left knee and thus leaving his groin for the world with his left arm, is now rising while looking to his right, grasping the arm of the statue standing by his side as he is preparing at the same time to extend with his right foot. Persephone, however, resisting the abduction tries to remain on the ground and extends her arms as if seeking help. This group is undoubtedly related to sculptures number 27-44, not so much because they were discovered together on the same site, but because their pieces belong to the same School and indeed are by the same hand. They are also linked as regards the action depicted because number 44 also depicts a woman among a group, while the four female figures (sculptures 36, 38, 39, 40) undoubtedly belong to one of these two statues, most probably that of Persephone seized by Hades. Since we know from other works of art, that she was playing with her attendant nymphs. Thus we have a composition depicting the abduction of Persephone when the nymphs were playing with her and nothing would surprise us and, in fact, it is possible to make the abducted maiden. This must have been exhibited in front of a wall because the backs of the standing pieces have not been worked out at all and their large

to be used in creating since upon a wall, most probably the tympanum of some temple pediment, possibly that belonging to the Temple of Apollo, since the stance of the figures portrayed, their gestures and modest demeanors and their movements and, indeed, the placement of the raised and lowered arms are most suitable for filling the space of a pediment. Pnyxiphos himself wears a long sleeveless chiton, fastened at the shoulders with a clasp, a girdle binding her waist. A bronze diaphanous robe on her back, which is drawn back to form a knot. Hades' head adheres to the workmanship and distant type and the detail of the horse is anatomically correct, although not exceeding the standard set by the art of the most glorious poets, having neither suggested muscular tension, nor a detailed depiction of each muscle. Pnyxiphos, although lacking the majesty and absolute idealism and bold depiction of the works of the School of Hippias, attempts to express through a distinguished expression of human feeling, of grief and religious emotion, and through the skilled representation of the beauty of her form, in particular of the tender and melting flesh and the simple and graceful folds of the chiton along the entire length of the body. To this one might add the lively and charming expression of the eyes, turning to and fro reminding us of the *Nereids* of the so-called movement of the *Nereids* of Nestor. Considering the above I think that this piece is a product of the 4th century BC created by an artist who was a member of the Attic School of Scopas and Praxiteles. The marble is very badly damaged, Pnyxiphos is missing her left arm from the shoulder, her right from the middle of her forearm and her lower extremities. Hades lacks his right arm and both hands from the pubic area while his torso has been cut off bearing number 160 and the procele. Hades measures 970 from the pubic area to the crown of his head, while Pnyxiphos measures 1210 from the lower end of her leg."

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The third temple, the *Phaon Temple* or *Phaonion* (12) was built of porous stone during either the period of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus, or that of his sons, in the late 6th cent. BC. The famous statue of Apollo created by the Athenian sculptors Tectonius and Angelion originally stood in this temple and was later transferred to the Great Temple. It consisted of a wooden core to which sheets of hammered gold or gilded bronze were attached. The god was depicted in the *laureus* type, holding a bow in one hand and the 'Three Graces' or three Muses in the other. The Graces, according to Plutarch, were holding musical instruments, the lyre, *aulos*, and *xylos*.



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The Phaon Temple or Phaonion (12). Courtesy: G. Poulas, 1991. Through the half-open entrance the statue by Tectonius and Angelion is not distinguishable.

The beauty and grace of the god is further emphasized by the frequent presence of his companions, the Graces, Nymphs and Muses who supplement and accentuate the picture of eternal youth. The Graces symbolize ideal grace and perfection in mortal beings and mortal works. The Nymphs, deities of the waters, lived in springs, forests, meadows and mountains and were the embodiment of mature maidenly youth and the beauty of nature. The Muses, like the nymphs, had the gift of prophecy; they knew "what is what is to come and of what has been", as Hesiod writes, who, in common with other poets, begins his hymn by invoking their aid. It was Hesiod who in the *Theogony* first specified their number and gave them the names by which they were worshipped to the end. Most important was Calliope, the goddess of epic poetry and later of rhetoric, who was depicted seated and pensive holding a tablet and stylus. Clio, patroness of history, was represented holding a scroll. Euterpe holding a double flute (aulos), while Thalia, goddess of pastoral poetry and later of comedy, holds a theatre mask. Melpomene is the goddess of musical harmony and song, and later of tragedy. Terpsichore was originally the patroness of dance, and later lyric poetry. Erato of marriage. Polyhymnia of hymns to the gods and

heroes, and Urania of the study of heavenly bodies. Many statues of the Muses were found on Delos, copies of the famous works by the sculptor Phidias, son of Polykletos, from Rhodes.

In contrast to most other ancient Greek temples, whose entrance is on the eastern façade, the entrance in all three temples of Apollo is situated on the west side. This feature, which is unique to the Delian temples, may perhaps be attributed to the fact that to the west lay the famous *Horn Altar*,¹² an altar that, according to tradition, had been built by Apollo himself from the left horns of the goats that he or Artemis had killed on Mount Kyllix. The foundation of an apsidal structure (13) discovered in front of the temples has been identified as the *Henaton*, the building that protected this most ancient and venerated altar.

During the archaic period, to the west and especially to the north of the temple were many dozens of statues of female and lesser votive offerings from private individuals or cities, many of which survived because they had already been covered over in antiquity. On the contrary, all that remains of the hundreds of marble or bronze statues dedicated in the Sanctuary during later centuries are their inscribed bases. These votive offerings were in plain sight and were either looted, used as construction material, or burned in later times.

The large square building (14) near the *Kerameia* was constructed in 445 BC by the Athenians and may be the *Pythion*,² the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

The *Artemision* (15) is a separate, smaller sanctuary, within the Sanctuary of Apollo, separated from the rest by an L-shaped Hellenistic stoa. The temple was built by the Delians during the Period of Independence and its foundation of large granite blocks is still visible. Its facade, in contrast to the temples of Apollo, was on the east side, and it had a portico with six Ionian columns. A small rectangular structure dating from the early 7th cent. BC located inside the cella is thought to be the earlier *Artemision*. Also inside the cella are the surviving sections of a larger building dating to the Mycenaean era, which has been associated with the worship of *Atena Theron*, a female deity, later identified with Artemis. In the northeastern corner of the temple, gold, ivory and other Mycenaean artifacts were found, which may have originated from the neighbouring tomb of the Upper-Minoan *Maidens*. Amongst the 2500 ivory fragments is the famous plaque with the Mycenaean warrior, possibly the work of a Cypriot workshop. It is probable that Delos, or neighbouring Mykenos, where a Mycenaean royal grave was discovered, had ivory workshops. Near the *Artemision*, the statue of *Nikeandria* and the *Nike of Anchermos*, as well as korai statues were found. Here is the very vivid and refreshingly prejudiced description of the *Nikeandria* statue by Panagiotis Kavvadias:

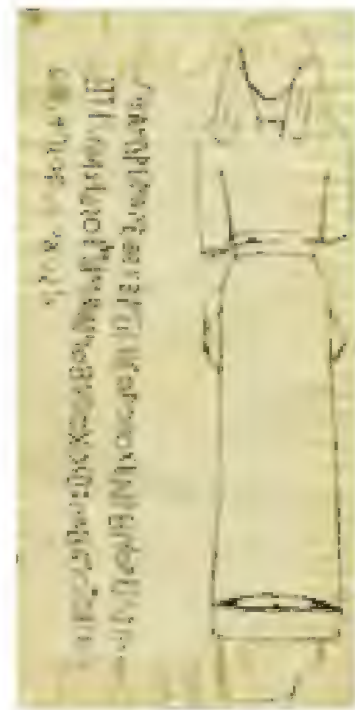
"An ancient and colossal statue of Artemis shaped like an eagle-stile, which through life and reality next acquired human, indeed female form, as is evident from the hair and of course the bust of breasts on the chest area. The lower half of the body follows precisely the shape of the stylized, almost squared stile, leaving only two wedge-shaped projections to indicate the feet, and the upper half demonstrates some art and ability on the part of the craftsman and constitutes a great triumph to the lower half, being wonderfully accurate on the subject of the art of anatomy, bones and veins. The head has a somewhat natural oval shape and the hair to the back, falling below the shoulders, is a mass of somewhat wavy, and to that it forms two curls on either side. The hair is along the length of the neck and is attached to it. Although the marble is damaged, it is possible to distinguish the eyes and nose and reproduce the ears. Indeed, indeed, according to the Egyptian fashion. The work is unique and precious. According to the records on the left, under the hand it bears a long ancient inscription, written (from right to left and left to right), stating that this work was dedicated to Artemis by *Nikeandria*, a woman whose family comes from *Naxos*. It stood next to a wall, since the back is totally unworked. Although unworked and crude, the pose succeeds in affecting the viewer strongly and creating a deep religious feeling. It is indeed still the statue, at the top, joining together perfectly. It is approximately 7 metres high."

The statue of *Nikeandria* is the earliest, large-scale female statue. With its daring inscription, the statue speaks directly to the viewer, leaving not the slightest doubt as to who dedicated it: "*Nikeandria, distinguished amongst women, daughter of Perikles of Sams, sister of Anisimenes and wife of Minos, dedicated me to her temple among the lot.*" Artemis, or *Nikeandria* herself, is depicted clad in a long dress that covers her flat body. The next statue of a slightly later date has curves and a sense of the body, but her garments remain a lifeless surface upon a lifeless body. Later korai were depicted richly and elegantly dressed and bejeweled, but never with any hint of sensuality or eroticism. These archaic korai and those shown in contemporary vase paintings are the last examples of women with their hair loose. Hair is an intensely erotic feature and only a husband was allowed to see it loose. In later centuries, women are portrayed with their hair severely pulled up or back or frequently covered, as was the case in Greece until just a few decades ago and still is in rural areas, constituting a sign of submission and the recognition of the man's sovereign right. Women would cut their own hair at the funeral of their beloved as a sign of complete resignation and the denial of any joys of life. The severest punishment and humiliation of errant women would be to cut their hair, a practice still followed today in many places. Perhaps that is why a woman's first gesture of revulsion has always been to cut her hair.

Nikeandria, a woman with a strong and militant personality, as her name indicates, may have been financially independent, enabling her to make this costly offering and to dare mention her name in the inscription.



The feet of the *Archimedes* statue and the *Nike* statue, drawn by G. Steinhilber.



tion, but she nevertheless defines her identity through her closest male relatives. In order of their power: her father first, then her brother and last her husband. As early as the archaic era women had been relegated to second place. Hesiod frequently cites the myth of Pandora, from whom spring all the ills of the human race, as would later be the case with Eve. Created by Hephaestus, and endowed with all the graces by Athena, Aphrodite and the Graces so that no one could resist her, Pandora was sent by Zeus to Prometheus or Epimetheus to punish them for stealing fire. Prometheus gave fire, until then the prerogative of the gods, to man, and fire (knowledge) became the beginning of civilization. Eve, who was also given to Adam by God, gave Adam to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, resulting in his loss of Paradise and from then on being obliged to eat bread by the sweat of his brow. Thus woman became the source of evil, the means by which the gods, or God, punishes humanity in general and men in particular; their love is represented as a trap by which they destroy men. In Christianity a woman became the means of redemption, but this was unavoidable because the Christian God, being the ultimate patriarchal prototype could not, unlike Zeus, give birth.

On Hellenistic Delos, however, Artemis was much more popular than her twin brother, and after Aphrodite and Isis, the most beloved goddess. Approximately 85 statues, statuettes, and reliefs, or fragments thereof, have been found, usually depicting the goddess in a short chiton and close fitting leather boots, garments that perfectly suit the vibrant and energetic goddess of the hunt, while her cult statues, depicted her dressed in a long chiton. In a statue of Artemis Elaphochores discovered in a house in the Theater Quarter, a cold, soulless academic work, the goddess is portrayed with her spear raised, ready to administer the fatal blow to a kneeling deer. Her divinely cold and expressionless face is in contrast to the dramatic moment and the pain of the fallen animal. This particularly cruel work would have seemed even cruder in the urban environment of Delos, where people were not accustomed to such hunting scenes. In the despair of the deer many spectators would have perceived their own despair and would have seen humanity's tragic fate and

the gods' indifference to human pain in the composition as a whole. Artemis, the goddess of nature and motherhood, in later years replaced Hecate as goddess of the moon. There was another sanctuary of the goddess on Chios where she was worshipped as Artemis-Hecate. Hecate, daughter of Zeus and Hera or of Euryphaes and Asteria, goddess of moonlight, was originally the divinity who brought happiness, victory, wisdom in court, and a successful outcome to sea voyages and hunts. The tragic poets depicted her as a chthonic deity, mistress of wicked spirits who, accompanied by the spirits of the dead, roamed over graves and places where three roads met. witches invoke her assistance to make their spells work."

*And now I will punish him with my enchantments
As thou, Severe, dost clear and fair, for woe, Goddess,
no thee will I sing, and to Hecate of hell.
The lady who sits before her as she sits
through black blood and across her barriers of the dead.
And, woe! Hecate to the end be thou of our company,
and make this wedding of mine no weaker than the spells of time
or of Medea, or of Demeter of the golden horn.
Firebrake, hark, 'tis she the bounds are drawing up and down the coast!
The Goddess stands where the three roads meet!
Hasten, and claim the blessed rituals.*

A few meters past the last temple of Apollo, the surviving foundations of five *Hekai* or Treasuries of the Classical Era (460-200) are arranged in a semi-circle. These small temple-shaped structures, votive offerings by various Greek cities, were originally used as lodgings or dining halls for pilgrims, and later, when the temples were overgrowing, they served to store precious objects and offerings.

South of the Treasury 4200 is an oblong building dating to the first half of the 5th cent. BC that has been tentatively identified as the *Hekaterion* of the Delians (21). Behind it are the ruins of the *Phrygianion* (24), i.e., the seat of the *prytanis* or archons of Delos. City records were kept in *prytanea*, public buildings that correspond to our present-day city halls. At the same time they were religious centres dedicated to the worship of the goddess Hestia (known as Vesta to the Romans, who considered her an earlier and much more important goddess), protectress of the family hearth as well as of the city hearth. The city's sacred fire was kept permanently alight there; the building also housed a dining hall, where the *prytanis* and all who had rendered the city great services dined at public expense. Banquets honoring foreign ambassadors, victorious athletes and other honored personages were also held there. The *prytaneion* of Delos was constructed in the first half of the 5th cent. BC and completed in the late 4th cent. BC. The entrance was on the south side where there was a portico with four Doric columns and a paved courtyard. A wall divided the remaining building into two halls, each with its own vestibule. The foundation of Hestia's altar can still be seen in one of the halls, while in the other were two small chambers, where the city archives and the vessels used to serve meals to the *prytanis* were stored. The city archives were under the protection of Cybele, the Great Mother of the gods, whose sanctuary, the *Aetneion* may have been in the *Sarapeion* 4. The great Phrygian goddess, Cybele was introduced early into the Greek Pantheon and identified with Rhea, Gaea, and Demeter. She is the driest earth, the mother of the gods, whose throne is on mountain peaks and in impenetrable forests. Wild beasts obey and accompany her. Her progress was preceded by the noisy *Curetes* and the *Comantes*, inventors of drums." The death and resurrection of her beloved Attis was celebrated with cries, ululations and frenzied passion, accompanied by the sounds of drums and rattles. The drum was the characteristic musical instrument of her wandering priests.

To the east of the last two buildings stands one of the strangest architectural monuments of antiquity, known by the conventional name *Monument of the Bulls* (23). It is a long, narrow building, 69,50 m. long and 10,37 m. wide divided into three parts: a vestibule with portico to the south, a huge oblong hall in the centre with a marble floor and benches against the walls, and a smaller hall to the north with a trapezoidal statue base. Three entrances led into this latter hall: the central one was flanked by two unique supports, a combination of pilaster and semi-column, with twin busts of bulls on the upper sections of the piers. The surviving sections of the monument's sculptural decoration depict dolphins leaping amongst frothing waves and a *Nereid* reclining on a sea monster. The building's central hall may have been the "*Nektron*", which housed a shrine, possibly an offering of Demetrius Poliorcetes, on the occasion of his victory at Salamis on the island of Cyprus (304 BC). The building dates to the later years of the 3rd cent. BC.



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At the southeast end of the Monument of the Bulls stands the altar of Zeus Soter and Pelias, and immediately after that is the wall separating the Sanctuary from the noisy commercial area.

The *Portico of Antigonus* (251, 120 metres long and 20 metres wide, takes up about two-thirds of the north side of the Sanctuary. It was built in c. 250 BC by Antigonos Gonatas, King of Macedonia as declared on the architrave: King Antigonos son of King Demetrius of Macedonia to Apollo (*Βασιλεὺς Ἀντιγόνος Δεμτρίου Μακεδόνος Ἀπολλῶνι*). The portico, which was not used for commercial purposes, was in the shape of a H with 45 pairs stone Ionic columns in the interior, and 47 grey-blue marble Doric columns on the façade. On the Doric entablature triglyphs alternated with reliefs of bulls' heads. At the east end, the mutilated statue of the Roman pro-consul Gaius Villenus, dedicated around 100 BC by his friend Midas son of Zenon, is still standing, near three marble *exedrae*.

In front and approximately at the center of the portico, amongst the bases of various statues and enclosed by a semi-circular wall is a Mycenaean tomb. This was considered to be the *Tombs (Tfufke)* of two Hyperborean maidens *Argo* and *Upe*, who according to Herodotus, after coming to Delos to assist Leto in giving birth, remained on the island as priestesses. The tomb was considered sacred and, therefore, left untouched during the Purification of 426 BC. During the Hellenistic era the low wall served to protect its status as an *athanon*, a sacred area where no one was allowed to set foot. Another semi-circular building in extremely bad condition southeast of the Artemesium has been identified as the *Tombs (Tfema)* of *Lardice* and *Hapenache*, another two Hyperborean maidens. Customarily, young brides-to-be would come here to offer locks of their hair wound around a spindle, and youths their first beard wrapped in grass, gifts symbolizing the traditional roles they would assume in the family.

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A building on the northwest corner of the Sanctuary (27), which was identified for many years as the *Thesmophorion*, dedicated to Demeter and Persephone, was recently thought to be the *Banquet Hall (Diatriba)* of the *Kelms*. Near to the Thesmophorion is the *Ekklesiasterion* (240) where hearings would take place. A small Roman temple and sections of an early-Christian basilica erected upon its ruins have survived within the precinct. The Sanctuary's north entrance is situated between the Ekklesiasterion and the *Graphe* (25), a late 5th century building, where paintings were exhibited.

THE AREA NORTH OF THE SANCTUARY

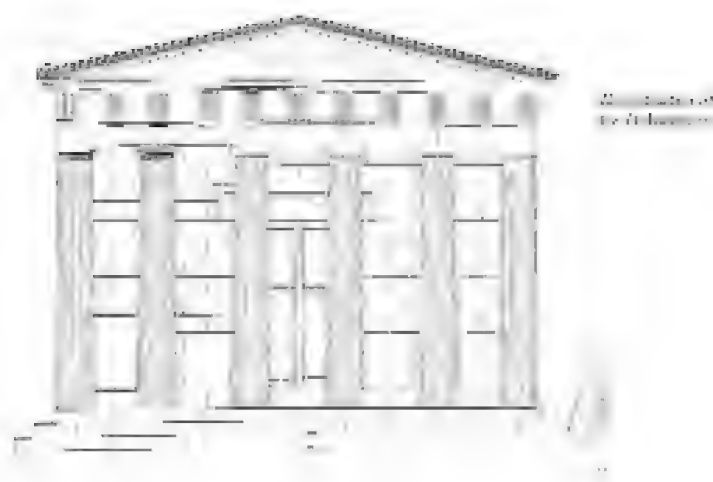
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206-207

Northwest of the Sanctuary is the *Agon of Theophrastos* (280), the Athenian Epimachos or administrator of Delos, who in 126/5 saw to the development of the site. The large base that bore his statue has been preserved in the centre of the square next to the ruins of the *Proileion*, the sanctuary of *Proseidon Neveleriga*. Proseidon is associated with Delos, since it was he who anchored the wandering islet to the bottom of the sea with diamond columns, changing it from *adrios* (unstable) to Delos, and giving Leto a place to bring forth the twin gods of light. The personification of the power of nature (*temon*,



Reconstruction of the Hippodrome Hall (© Looney n.c., adapted, 2008)

earthquake, rigging horses). Poseidon was worshipped on Delos under the appellations Neokleides (protector of ships and sailors), Asphaltes, Orthisios, Thersakleios (protector of the city's stability), Aeslus and Hippiotes (leader of horses). The merchants, bankers and warehouse owners from Tyre, Ascalon and Berytus (present day Beirut) who resided on the island worshiped Poseidon as one of their ancestral gods, while the Romans worshiped him as Neptune. As early as Homeric times, Poseidon is presented as the god of the sea. In the *Iliad*, enraged, he proclaims himself equal to Zeus and defines his domain:

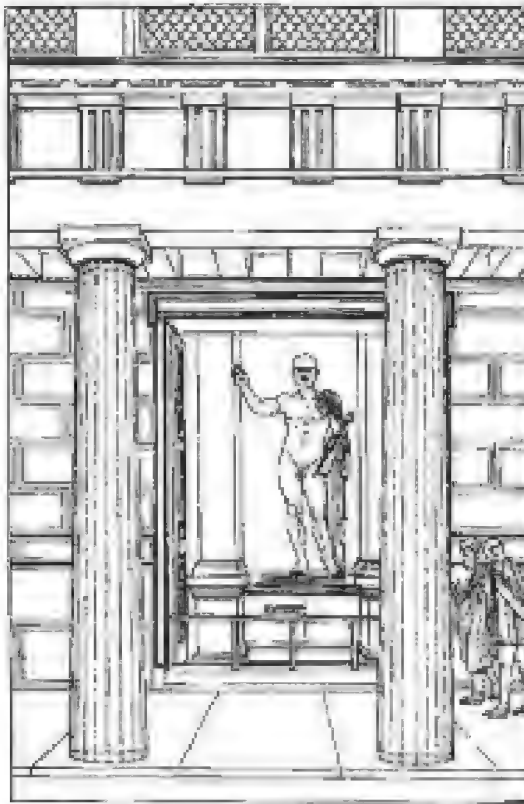


But the glorious god of earthquakes shook to anger:
 "What courage! Great as he is, what extraordinary arrogance?
 So fear me, will he, to reach my will to his?
 I with 101 same high honors!
 Three brothers are we, all sprung from Uranus,
 all of us brought to birth by Hera - Zeus and I,
 Hades the third, lord of the dead beneath the earth.
 For would you split these realms? How would we roam
 Where we share the lots I draw the stars, my fostering eternal ether,
 And Hades from the land of the dead (guilted to base and right
 and Zeus above the heavens, the clouds and the high ether sky,
 But the earth and Olympus heights are common to us all."

The *Hypostyle Hall* (200) is an odd building dating to the end of the 4th cent. BC, 50.45 m. long by 31.50 m. wide. On the long south side, where the entrance was also situated, was a colonnade with 15 pines stone Doric columns with marble capitals. The architrave bore the inscription "Dedicated to Apollo by the Delians" (ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΩ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝΙ), but after Hellenic, the word Delians was replaced by Attalians. The interior had 44 columns, the peripheral being Doric and the rest Ionic. The roof was higher in the centre with large openings around it, admitting light. The function of the building is unknown. Houses and a monastery complex were later erected (1 - 7 cent. AD) on the ruins of the building. The recent structures around it were built at the end of the 19th century to house the members of the French School.

East of the Hypostyle Hall is the *Prodelphion* (201), a sanctuary dedicated to the Twelve Olympian Gods, which originally contained only altars. The small Doric amphiprostyle temple was built early in the 3rd cent. BC. At the rear of the cella the base on which the cult statues stood can still be seen. Parts of the archaic statues of the twelve gods²² created by Parian artists and dating to 500 BC have been found on the Prodelphion site. This strange family appears to be reconstituted: Hera, sister and lawful wife of Zeus sits on his right on a throne, and beside her stand some other goddesses. To the left of Zeus stands Athena, his daughter exclusively, and later his mistress between their two children, Apollo and Artemis. The statues of Zeus and Hera that stood against the wall and were not visible from behind, are hollow to reduce their weight and facilitate their transportation.

On the same site a wonderful head was found from the colossal statue of a deified Demetrios Poliorcetes.



Monument of the statue and
base of Demosthenes (17000
48, 10000) - C. H. Smith, 1900.

He is depicted with the features of Alexander, in order to emphasize his right of succession. Demosthenes, a nephew of the orator Demosthenes, criticizes that the corruption and obscenity of the Athenians was such that even Demosthenes furiously remarked that among his contemporary Athenians there was no great or brave-spirited man. An Athenian hymn describes Demosthenes as the nearest and fairest god.¹²

North of the Dodieantheon is the *Granite Monument* (31) a building dating to the 2nd cent. BC, which probably housed a Society, and opposite was the *Latria* (32), a 6th-century temple dedicated to Leto. Worshippers would use the bench outside it to rest. Various monuments, public buildings and shrines frequently had such benches where passers-by might sit to rest, chat and enjoy the view. On another marble bench, which ran down the interior of the temple's cella, the faithful would leave their offerings and dedications. The cella contained the archaic wooden statue (xanathos) of Leto, seated on a throne, clad in a thin chiton and purple himation, a work so strange to the eyes of the Hellenistic era that, as the historian Strabo the Helian notes, the melancholy philosopher Parmenides of Metapontion¹³ burst out laughing as soon as he saw it. Leto and Hera, exceptionally important deities during the archaic period, who received many offerings, are pushed aside during the Hellenistic period by Aphrodite and Isis and so one pays much attention to them.

The goddess's *temenos* (sacred precinct) was sacrificed around 130 BC to allow for the construction of the flamboyantly luxurious *Agia of the Palms* (33), the largest building on Delos. With the construction of this defiantly massive building on the holy isle, the Serpepower of the age made an explicit statement of its presence, its power and the regulating role it was determined to play in the Aegean. There were many small shops and workshops around its exterior. A marble gate on the southwest side led into a large open-air space surrounded by two-storied colonnades with Doric columns on the ground floor and square pilasters on the upper floor. The architrave was inscribed with the names of the donors in both Greek and Latin. Behind the ground floor colonnades were niches and aediculae with heronidic statues. In one such aedicula



The Severn Lake is the early 20th century, before being flooded in

stood the larger-than-life statue of Gaius Opellius Pheas, created by the Athenian sculptors Democorus and Eumachides, as indicated by the inscription on the base. Gaius Opellius, a wealthy merchant from Campania who had business interests on Delos, paid for the construction of the Agon's west colonnade, perhaps under the condition that he would be granted a spot in which to place his statue. Naturally he paid not only for the construction of the alcove but for the statue as well. He is depicted nude, his himation hung over his left shoulder, with a youthful vigorous body, in the manner of works by Polyclitus and Praxiteles. Standing, his raised right hand bent upon a long spear and his left holding a small sword, imitating the stance of statues of Alexander the Great, he may possibly draw a parallel between his commercial successes and the conqueror's achievements. Both conquered the world. The eodem representation, along with the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers from the House of the Seals, give an idea of the incongruity of presenting a mature man with the body of a young athlete.

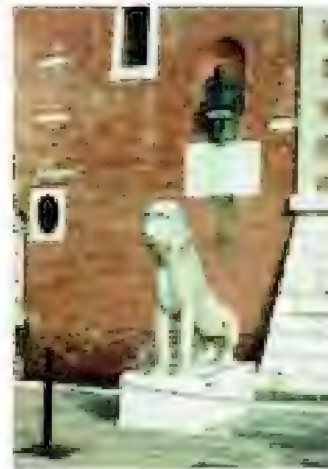
The annoying insistence of these rich businessmen on the precise depiction of their face recalls C.P. Cavafy's Lanius, son of Ramelechos,¹⁴ who, finally opposing the famous Kyrenean painter who tried to convince him that he must absolutely portray him as Hyacinth, told him to proceed:

another Hyacinth nor anyone else
but Lanius, son of Ramelechos, the Alexandrian

Lanius, like Gaius Opellius, the Pseudo-Athlete and the bankers, displays with disarming innocence and unconscious honesty exactly what they have: the former his beauty, the latter their riches and power. However, all the faces had to be immediately recognizable by the viewer, otherwise nothing was gained from the outlay. Gaius, the Pseudo-Athlete, and the bankers, who were not all Lanius's age, did not hesitate to borrow another body, oblivious to the bizarre and unnatural result. And if anyone had dared to remark upon it in their presence, they naturally would have paid no attention. The artist himself confirmed that this was what noble Romans of the day did. The head from the equestrian statue of a man in a cuirass, erected in another of the Agon's naides, reflects the same circumstances. The expressionless face with its stern fixed glance and tight lips reveals someone accustomed to giving orders. The highly polished marble further accentuates the cold expression of the military man.



Below: One of the lions immediately after they were found (1880). Right: A lion lies in front of the Arsenal of Venice, unrecognisable after the addition of an atrocious modern head.



Two statues of Gauls from the same site are quite different. They were probably related to the victories of the Kings of Pergamum against the Gauls, or the slaughter of Celtic mercenaries by the soldiers of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 278 BC. The first statue, exhibited today in the National Archaeological Museum, depicts a wounded Celtic warrior, fallen onto his right knee but continuing to fight raising the characteristic shield he grips in his right hand.¹⁹ Only the sinking head of the second statue, with its wild "barbaric" features survives. Both statues emphasise the fierce nature of the Gauls in order to make the achievement of the victories even more admirable. In these works, even the altar of Pergamum and the Marathon, the victories of the Greeks against the "barbarians" are presented as victories of Civilisation over Barbarism, of Order against Anarchy, of Law against Violence, achievements comparable to those of the Olympian Gods (battle against the Giants), raising the victorious kings to the level of Divine Saviours.

On the west side of the road, opposite the Sacred Lake (35) is the Terrace of the Lions (36). The original number of lions dedicated by the Naxians to the Sanctuary is unknown, but is estimated at between nine and nineteen.

During the Hellenistic era, when the island's sanctity gave way to an intensely commercial and cosmopolitan atmosphere, it is very likely that the statues were moved further south so that the new inhabitants could build their ostentatiously luxurious houses. The terrace was probably destroyed early in the 1st cent. BC, since parts of the lions were used as construction material on the wall built in 67 BC by the Roman Consul Varus to protect whatever had survived the attack of Athenodorus' pirates.

Early travellers' testimony shows that parts of the lions were visible up to the 18th century. In 1716 Venetian travellers saw the headless statue of a lion that reminded them of the lion of St. Mark, the symbol of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. They therefore transported the headless lion to Venice, where it can still be seen in front of the Arsenal, with an exceptionally ugly added head. Parts of the lions were discovered in 1880 and 1884, although most of the pieces were found in 1886; it was then that they were placed on high bases by Demetrios Stakropoulos so that they would be on the original level of the terrace. In October 1900, the sculptures were transferred to the Gips Museum and replicas were erected in their place.

A circular wall indicates the position of the Sacred Lake (35) during the Hellenistic era. It was drained in 1925 by the archaeologist Demosthenes Pippas to address a serious malaria problem that risked causing the guards and excavators to abandon Delos. The palm tree in the centre was planted in 1933 by Pippas, in remembrance of the palm tree Leto embraced to give birth.²⁰

Four columns northwest of the Lions mark the building that housed the Establishment of the Physidians, of Heron (37). It was built in the 2nd cent. BC as a religious and commercial centre, as well as a meeting place and club house for merchants, shipowners and warehouse owners from Heraklus (Heracl) the great com-

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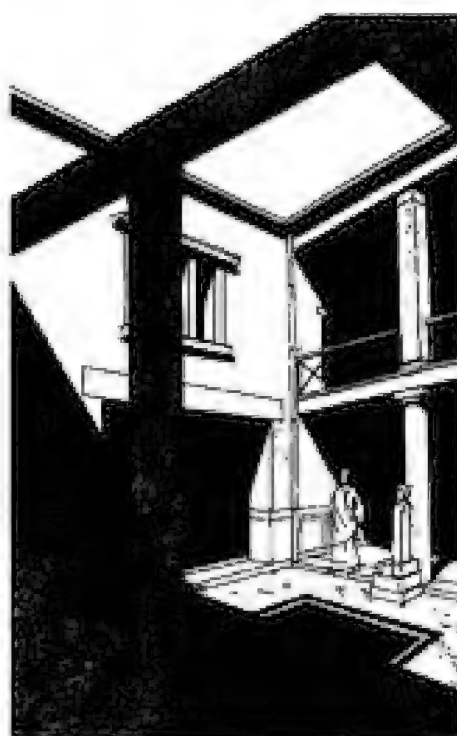
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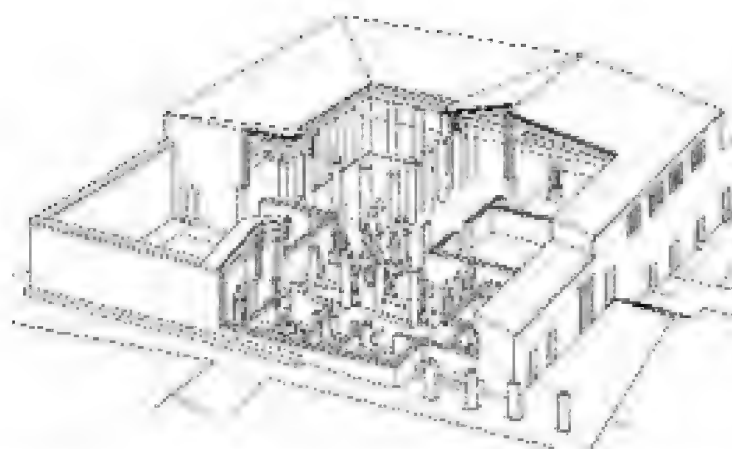
Reconstruction of the interior of the House on the Hill of Thessalonica — N. Goulet, 1927.



*Reconstruction of the interior of the House of the Sea-
mon, Beirut, 1941.*



*Reconstruction of the ceiling of the House of the Sea-
mon, Beirut, 1941.*



The Philosophy of Knowledge
for Foundation of Manu (CS
1304) - A. Lindgreen (2001)

medial city of Syria. A large peristyle courtyard with an underground cistern is in the centre of the complex, and there are many rooms on its south side. On the southwest side stood altars and small temples where Baal-Boszen, Antae-Aphrodite, Eumun-Asclepius, as well as the goddess Reme, whose headless cult statue survives in place to this day, were worshipped. The famous statue of a nude Aphrodite ready to strike guai-fested Pan with her sandal was found in one of the rooms on the south side. Demosthenes Pappas described the group very vividly in his characteristically long sentences:

*Nude Aphrodite, with her hair reversed, wearing her right sandal, standing; a standing goat-footed Pan, his intentions friendly, leans on a pillar and supports her, grasping her with both hands, whose right arm is being held by him hovering near Aphrodite's left shoulder like wings were separately worked but are missing; Aphrodite carries her breasts with her left hand, while her right hand holding her left sandal threatens Pan. Here and there certain extremities of the entire group are missing. Traces of red colour are visible especially on the lower parts. On the base is the inscription:

1. *There is, for \mathcal{P} of $\mathcal{L}_{\text{form}}$, not a \mathcal{P} -sentence*
 2. *Let \mathcal{P} be a \mathcal{P} -sentence. Then \mathcal{P} is true*
 and the \mathcal{P} -sentence is not a \mathcal{P} -sentence.

The same erotic spirit imbued another group found here, interpreted as the encounter between the nymph Amphimede-Nereid and Poseidon, according to a local Demot myth. Poseidon surprised the beautiful Nereid, daughter of Adonis and Aphrodite, at a spring while she was drawing water. Nereid was pursued in course of Helios, but she is not unknown on Delos, since it seems she also had been Apollo's mistress. Only the female figure and the male hand that is undressing her by pulling at her hair have been preserved from this piece.

Outside the southwest corner of the building is an Early Christian inscription, which, heavily inscribed on the marble, bridges the centuries and shows how little human needs have changed: CHRISTUS FILIUS DEI. VIVANT FIAT. CRESCAT IN OMNIBUS. SUFFICIAT. In the east and south sides of the building are many shops and workshops.

One of the poorest quarters of the city sprang up around the Establishment of the Freedmen's Aid; it was the first to be burned during the raid of 1863, just a few city blocks have been renovated in this quarter, and its wealthy houses yielded significant findings.

In 1961 rain falling on an unexcavated building (28) at the top of the hill exposed its painted facade.¹ There were nine successive layers of wall paintings depicting celebratory sacrificial scenes and the protecting gods of the house: Heracles, Hermes and the Lares. The walls of the house opposite, which has come to be known as the *House on the Hill*, have been preserved to a height of 4.50 meters. Like the majority of houses on Delos, it too was a two-story building with a three-porcheyle on the ground floor and plainer



Reconstruction
of the atrium in the House
of the Ptolemies
(P. House -
J. House 1900)
and the wall painting
the House
of the Ptolemies
(J. House de Mousier -
N. House 1900)



The House with
the Ptolemies right hand
the wall of the House of
the Ptolemies (P. House -
J. House 1900)

on the upper story balcony. The few traces of interior decoration that have been preserved allow for the possible reconstruction of the interior wall decoration.

In the neighboring *House of the Seals* (40), imposing portraits of the owners were found, perhaps copies of their official *brassae* portraits in Rome. The unusual base on these marble busts suggests that they may have been modeled on plaster casts of the official statues brought in from Rome for this purpose and carved locally. They too, like *Gaius* and the *Pseudo-Athlete*, adopt the nude body of an athlete with the himation draped over the left shoulder. On the first floor of the house, the family's extensive records, including thousands of papyri containing contracts and letters, were kept in wooden containers and on shelves. From these records came approximately 16,000 seal impressions, which survived because the building was destroyed by fire. The burning papyri and the wooden furniture on which they were placed fired the raw clay of the impressions thus ensuring their survival. These seals, measuring 0.01-0.075 m., came from public and private documents dating from 148-68 BC. Fingerprints survived on their margins and imprints of the papyrus fiber on the back. The hole created by the flax has been preserved along the length of the vertical axis.

The rest of the block was named *House of the Ptolemies* (41) because of the multitude of house objects found

there, among which were many *telamēna*, relief-couch decorations, which justify the reputation of the treasury-manufactured on Delos. As in almost all the city's quarters, private residences, workshops and shrines existed side by side in the same block.

The *House of the Comedians* (436) complex was excavated in 1931-35 by the excellent French archaeologist Mr. Brunson who, in collaboration with other archaeologists, very soon published the excavation material, giving the first documented information on a Delian residence.²⁰ The west residence had two floors above the ground floor and a roof pediment. In the larger main house, fragments were found of a frieze depicting scenes from tragedy and the New Comedy, whence the name of the complex. The mosaic floor of the east residence, which has an unusual stairway with a rooked corridor on the north and east side, depicts a female Triton with Eros. The complex, built and inhabited in about 125 BC, was totally destroyed in 69 BC.

In one of the eight houses that form the east block, the *House of the Jewels* (434) the mosaic floor of the stairs was preserved in good condition. The emblem (central motif) depicts Athena in full armor, Hermes with his winged sandals and caduceus, and a seated female figure. A border around the central motif depicts bulls' heads and masks from tragedy and comedy amid foliate decorations. From the floor of the upper storey of the same house comes the mosaic depicting King Lycurgus of Thrace pursuing Dionysus' nurse Amynosia. In another house on the same block a woman hurriedly hid her savings and jewels, without even being able to return and retrieve them. On 18 August 1935,²¹ 59 silver Attic tetradrachms, 5 gold Rhodian coins, three pendants, two pairs of earrings, two bracelets, one ring and three necklaces were found in a small hole dug in the floor and covered with a rock. Three silver coins were found in the soil next to the covering stone, a fact that shows how hastily the treasure was concealed. A silver coin, gold earrings and necklaces buried in another dwelling in the same complex were found on 6 August 1936.²²

Most of the *House of the Madameres* (431), one of the richest private buildings on Delos, was uncovered in 1894 by Louis Courbe, who among other things, excavated five of the most important buildings in the ancient city in two months: the Lake House (481), House of the Madameres (431), House on the Hill (320), House of the Trident (365) and Inceps House A (323), with the foreseeable catastrophic results. Courbe²³ complains that many days were lost to the necessary investigative sequencing, the bad weather and the workers' religious holidays and notes: "We suffered many bad days for eight weeks, of which with an average of 50 to 60 workers, but one must take the circumstances into account, because we rarely had to remove a layer of earth that was less than three meters high..." As a consequence of this haste, very few findings resulted from the excavation of all these buildings, mostly fragments of inscriptions and sculpture. The ground floor and the eastern of the two-storey House of the Madameres yielded three portraits, the statue of the Pseudo-Athlete, the statue of Artemis, a head of a satyr, an inscribed base, two other marble statue heads and the best copy of Polykleitos' *Dionysos*. This copy was made at the end of the 2nd cent. BC, although the original human statue was sculpted in about 430 BC. It depicts a young athlete binding his hair with a ribbon, the symbol of victory, who is either starting to walk or pauses while walking—a characteristic pose of Polykleitos' statues. The perfectly fit body and the calm pensive expression on his face illustrate the ideals of the classical era. Full of self-confidence, clad like the gods in heroic nudity, a nudity that to the Greeks symbolised a higher civilisation, he displays with aristocratic indifference the flawless beauty of his body and constitutes the perfect symbol of the male-dominated society of the 5th cent. BC. His strong disciplined body illustrates the singular values of Classical Greece, demonstrating the superiority of the aristocratic class and its right to hold power. The tree trunk on which his himation and quiver are leaning was added by the copy's sculptor; it did not exist in the bronze original, which did not require support. The quiver, a characteristic feature of the statues of Apollo Herakles, the perfect athlete, may have been deliberately added to lend the statue of the mortal athlete something of the god's radiance and may indicate that the copy was made specifically for Delos.

The nude statues of the classical era never show weakness, pain, effort or old age. Even when a wounded hero is portrayed, it is the perfect beauty of his body that is emphasised, which to the Greek culture represented existence itself. For the Greeks, the body was never man's prison, the evidence of his downfall or the instrument of his punishment as it was perceived by subsequent non-Hellenic religions, but rather an object of admiration and worship. The fear of old age and bodily decline are often evident in poetry, grave stela portray the dead in the prime of their youth and funerary inscriptions do not refer to life after death, but mourn the lost joys of life on earth. After death, human beings are naught but powerless images, shades that sadly recall their life. Achilles would prefer to see the light of the sun even if it meant he would "give an oath for another man—some old man whom former wife escapes to keep alive—than rule down here over the breathless dead!"²⁴



August 1894. The Daidalos, supported by two Egyptian natives, is lying in shade of the members of a line (thousand year deep from the "perfect form"). The figure is made visible in the light of the August morning, while the cool, colder "morality" (drawing long scenes, and gained in August) in the Christian world with the death of Hellenic Daidalos.

On the base of a herm found within the building is the inscription: "Πολύδοτος υἱὸν τοῦ Πάριος (old youths) were Stasos son of Philokles and Sotades son of Sotades, of Athens" (*Πολύδοτος υἱὸν τοῦ Πάριος καὶ Σωτάδου υἱὸν Σωτάδου, Ἀθηναῖος*). Such herms owned private palaestrae bearing their names, where they frequently also lived. In appropriately organized settings they trained boys and youths in the Greek pentathlon (foot-race, long jump, wrestling, discus throwing and javelin) assisted by specialised personnel (arms masters, archers, javelin throwers, musicians, bath attendants and palaestra guards). Private palaestrae were under the supervision of the state (the Gymnasium Master). For certain types of exercise that the palaestra could not accommodate, trainers would take their students to the public exercise area, the Gymnasium.

The size of the building, interior arrangement, the amount and type of sculpture, as well as the inscriptions found inside or in the vicinity of the building, all lead to the conclusion that this was the private palaestra and residence of Stasos, son of Philokles from Kalamos, referred to in inscriptions.

Both Stasos son of Philokles from Kalamos and Sotades son of Sotades Aiginae, the founders and directors of the Palaestra, were important personages in Delian society during the 2nd cent. BC. Around 150 BC Sotades held the office of Market Inspector, and was honored by the Demos with a laurel wreath for over-riding the obligations of his office "honourably, in a worthy manner and in accordance with the laws and decisions of the People". In 148/7 BC Stasos was a priest in the Hierapirion and was already wealthy enough to make costly offerings "for himself and for the fathers of the Athenians and his children" and "for the Demos of the Athenians and the Demos of the Hionians" thus flattering the two municipalities from which most of his students came. The Palaestra had been operating at least since 133/2 BC, but in 125 BC Stasos appears as the sole owner. It is evident that the Palaestra's fame spread very quickly because while the 133/2 catalogue of its graduates listed six youths, mainly Athenians, seven years later, in 126/5 BC, the eighteen youths who graduated came not only from Athens and Italy, but also from Asia Minor, Egypt, the surrounding islands, Galatia, Cilicia, etc. Needless to say, his son Philokles son of Stasos from Athens also studied at this Palaestra. The Palaestra graduates, offspring of wealthy and powerful families, would later go on to play an important role in Delian society, make expensive offerings to the gods and gain public office. In the later decades of the 2nd cent. BC, having established its fame and assured an adequate income, the Palaestra initiated building renovations that included sumptuous decorations and the construction of an imposing peristyle, which remained half-finished.

It appears that the extensive athletic and educational centre of the city began in this quarter. Quite near the Stasos Palaestra are two other Palaestrae, the *Great Palaestra* (481) and the *Little Palaestra* (489), while at a distance of a few minutes on foot were the Hippodrome (480), the Gymnasium (480) and the Stadium (481).

The *Little Palaestra* (489) which was the earliest and occupied an area of 1,200 m², was built in the 3rd cent. BC and repaired and reorganized between 150-100 BC. The larger (2,000 m²) *Great Palaestra* (480) was built in the 2nd cent. BC of granite from the quarries on the south side of the island. Both palaestrae consisted of a central courtyard with a colonnade, around which were colonnades, exercise areas, *exedrae* for conversations, dressing rooms, cloakrooms, baths, latrines, etc. The palaestrae and the *gymnasia* were the centre of the male population's social life. Men of all ages spent a great deal of time there: the boys to exercise, the youths to train, the men to maintain their good physical condition, and the elders to admire or comment; and everybody to pick up news and engage in conversation. It is this palaestra atmosphere that is frequently portrayed in the Platonic dialogues; it is characteristic that the moment Socrates returns from Phaedria, he goes to the Palaestra of Taïnvos to meet acquaintances and learn the news. He describes with admiration the entrance of the handsome Charmides into the palaestra: "...Although I am completely incapable of judging beautiful youths, because certainly all youths look handsome to me, let myself gaze at his height and beauty and it appears that everybody may in fact wish him, such was their confusion and perturbation when he walked in. Many other admirers were following behind him, and while this is not strange for us men, I noticed that among the children, even the youngest one of them had eyes for anyone else, but were all looking at him, as though he were some statue". Of course, those who could afford to spend hours sculpting their body every day in the palaestra were mostly wealthy young aristocrats who did not need to work for their living, and it was such youths who in earlier times would discourse for hours with the Sophists and Socrates.

On both sides of the street are small shops and workshops, with private houses behind them. The small but tastefully simple *Little House* (466) constitutes an exception, built on a single lot flanked on all four sides by walls. Constructed in the last decades of the 2nd cent. BC, it was initiated by at least two generations of

the same family, and was burned down in 181 BC. Two years later, in 157 BC, the workers and legionnaires of Gaius Triarius used what remained of the house to build the defensive Wall behind the Lake Palaestra. Eleven particularly elegant peristyle capitals were discovered incorporated into this wall, while the breadth was found in pieces in the cistern, together with marble metemata, column fragments, and fragments of the upper floor mosaics and wall paintings. The Wall 1500 indicates how much the city had shrunk after the disaster, as it enclosed and protected only the area from the Skarlonas port to the theatre quarter, leaving outside the entire remaining city, the sanctuaries and commercial ports, which were apparently lying in ruins.

111 In 2002, in the large square in front of the Lake Palaestra, another market (47) was excavated, which, as the findings indicate, was the main market for wine from South Italy and Sicily, and for flour. The stores consist of one or two rooms with the primary entrance onto the main road and a secondary entrance onto the outdoor area at the back.

Large permanent installations for grinding cereal were discovered in two stores. Recently (July 2003), near the Establishment of the Dioskourasts, another miller's shop was discovered, and an oven for baking bread, the first found on Delos to this day. Yannis Tsamandis recalls that, in the neoclassical houses of Fourni in which he grew up "housemaids were still making the bread," and the same must have been true in the aristocratic houses of Delos, judging from the findings and references in ancient writers. Handmills or portable large-scale cereal mills¹ were found in almost all the large houses. Small flat-topped cone-shaped ovens, made out of amphora shards, their interiors coated with clay and a single opening at the top were also found in many houses. It was not possible to bake bread or food in these ovens and they were probably used to bake flatbreads, which were placed against the walls.

The market was burned down in 181 BC during the raid of Athenodorus. The lamps and braziers (portable stoves for cooking and heat) were in use when the disaster occurred, indicating that Athenodorus and his pirates must have attacked on a winter night and taking the inhabitants by surprise, caught them totally unprepared. They probably landed at the nearby port of Skarlonas and set fire to the city's northern quarter, where wealthy Romans mainly resided, spreading panic. The building density, the narrow streets, the wooden roof supports and the street oil would have ensured that the fire spread rapidly.

Whatever the pirates did not loot is still there on the badly burnt earthen floors, as it was abandoned by the last inhabitants who fled panic-stricken in an effort to escape. In one large shop, buried under its ceiling in red tiles, large amphorae that judging from their shape must have once contained wine from South Italy and Sicily, are still in their proper place. Next door, in a miller's shop stand the large earthenware jars (pathe) that contained wheat and flour. Many bronze coins, apparently the miller's savings, were found under the threshold. The lamps still bear blackened wick marks, and cooking pots, dishes and cups are lying on the ground. The burned buildings look as though they were abandoned just yesterday by their shopkeepers and customers.

112 Between the Triarius Wall and the Sacred Lake is an archaic marble altar (51), which is thought to be the renowned altar of Apollo Genetor, the only altar on which bloodless sacrifices took place, but the identification is not at all certain. Likewise, it is most doubtful that the neighboring small temple was dedicated to Anios, nor do we know what deity was worshipped in the large sanctuary (52) east of the Agora of the Iulians. The base of the cult statue is still standing in the temple cella, as is the marble sacrificial altar in front of the temple. It may have been a sanctuary of Aphrodite or of Artemis Soteira.

The ancient *Apollonion* (58), which has yet to be excavated, is calculated to have been on the flat expanse north of the modern snack bar, while farther east is the *Archegeston* (59), the sanctuary of Anios, the mythical king and coloniser of Delos, to which strangers were forbidden entry, according to an inscription on the lintel over the entrance.

113 The *Gymnasium* (60) was built in the early 3rd cent. BC, later renovated by the Athenians and destroyed in 88 BC. It consists of a large outdoor peristyle court, around which the necessary facilities for the exercise and education of youths were located. On the north side is the *Ephēbeion*, a large hall that opened onto the peristyle, with marble benches for approximately 70 people. Two wealthy Athenians paid for the benches: Athenagoras and Zenon, sons of Athenagoras, of Athens dedicate this to Apollo (ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΠΦΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΥΑΔΩΝΤΕ). The *Ephēbeion*, or *Eisodion* was the official hall of the Gymnasium, where

meetings, discussions and instruction were held. Many of the benches in the Delos Gymnasium are covered with graffiti by the youths who sat on them, something they have in common with desks in contemporary schools. Two of the benches discovered there are also completely covered with similar graffiti. Corresponding carvings have also found in other Palaestrae" on Delos and in other cities (e.g., dozens of inscriptions were found on the rocks around the Gymnasium of ancient Thera⁷¹). With amazing dexterity and patience, the youths of Delos and their admirers carved human figures, wreaths, ships, vessels, Cupids, and wrote their names over and over, proclaiming their friendship or their love: Amoros and Lyssas, Archias and Diognetos, Athanos and Damios, Genestatos and Leukios. Demyskos and Glaukon are *friends* (φίλοι), Medeios and Theodoros, who carved their names five times, are *eternal friends* (αἰὲν φίλοι), others are *necessary to each other*, inseparable correlations (ἀναπόσπαστοι) and yet others simply carved under their name the words of Erat (ἔρα), in Philon's Rhetoric the defender of unmarried life states: "*this kind of life lacks moderation; it resembles an illegitimate and breeding sow, not despite the fact that let some life, born to very elderly parents, attempt to cast out the legitimate child. Thus, just yesterday or the day before he crept secretly into the Gymnasium, driven by those carries which cause youths to remove their clothing and began, in supposed innocence to embrace and nib himself against them. Their skin, in the palaestra heathens grew stronger, to the extent that no one could restrain him any longer, but he scolded and even snuggled him, which is an example of immorality, since it is with desire that the flame of the human race remains alight...*" On Delos, those who upon completing their 18th year were eligible for registration in the Demos registry, would make votive offerings to Apella, Hermes and Heracles; in the Gymnasium, as the inscriptions testify, there was also a statue of Iros. Athensanos reports that at the Academy, the Gymnasium where Plato gathered his students, the Athenians had also erected the statue of Iros, to whom they offered sacrifices as they did in Athena. The main entrance to the Gymnasium on the south side is flanked by marble benches. There are also marble benches in two side exedrae. These areas corresponded to the rather dingy rooms described in the Platonic dialogues.⁷² In a similar hall, Socrates discussed with Lykis, Menexenos, Hippothales, Charmides, Critias, Kleinias and the other beautiful and virtuous youths of his era, and it was there that the Sophists would find an eager audience. During the Hellenistic era, the changing room was inside the Gymnasium, but these outdoor exedrae continued to exist as places where friends would rest, meet and talk.

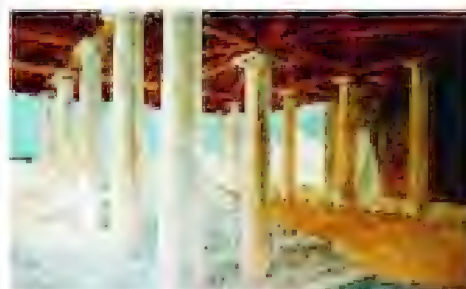
Next to the Gymnasium is the *Xystos*⁷³ an oblong naked area (180 x 7 meters) where young men would train for footraces. Ptolemy IX Soter II contributed funds to build the Xystos and the inscription reveals that he dedicated it to "Apollo, to the Heroes of the Athenians and to young men". Ptolemy IX was a typical example of his singular family and the age he lived in. He first married his sister Cleopatra IV, then his second sister Cleopatra Selene, and finally his mistress with whom he had four children. Later, after marrying her brother, Cleopatra Selene married successively Antiochus VII, Antiochus IX, and Antiochus X until she was murdered in 69 BC in Seleucia on the Euphrates. The Ptolemies very early became aware of the potential of Delos' geographic position and were most generous to the Sanctuary.

The Stadium (61) was built during the early decades of the 3rd cent. BC beginning with the construction of large embankments on the site and a strong retaining wall to the east.

Below the Stadium is yet another partially excavated quarter of the ancient city (62) that includes the Synagogue (62A), a 1st cent. BC building that was in use up to and including the 2nd cent. AD on the east. In its two adjoining interior halls are marble benches and a wonderful marble throne, originally from the theatre exedra, brought there after the theatre was destroyed. In the same room there still exists one of the many lime kilns that for decades were used to convert the marble parts of the ancient buildings into lime. From the beginning, the island's intense commercial activity attracted a great many Jews. In their Greek inscriptions they unfailingly emphasize that they worship God on Mount Zion⁷⁴ i.e., they were Samaritans.



Above: Reconstruction of the Mneson Mountain colonnade (A. Goussy - 41; Walser, 1977) and below: its interior (A. Goussy).



The photograph (Goussy) is the only evidence that a wall painting of Heracles once existed in the Stadium Quarter.

THE AREA EAST OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE SANCTUARIES OF NYSTERIS

Outside the east end of the Portico of Antigonos is the *Mneson Mountain* (55), a roofed public fountain hewn out of the natural granite. Access to the water was possible via a stairway with eleven steps. In the centre of the third step the column that supported the building's hipped roof is still standing. The structure was walled on three sides, while the fourth, the south side had an open portico with small Doric columns. The fountain was built in the mid-4th cent. BC and repaired in the mid-2nd cent. BC. A relief found there depicts a river god and three nymphs, whom the dedicatory inscriptions refer to as Mneson Nymphs, a name which may suggest the memory of a Mneson settlement on the island.

On the opposite side of the street is the *Stoichadion* (56) a small "temple" to Dionysos in the form of a simple exedra. To the left and right of the "temple", upon tall marble bases are two huge phalluses, sacred symbols of the Dionysian cult. Reliefs decorate three sides of the south base: a cockerel with a phallus-shaped head in the center, to the right a Satyr carrying a basket precedes a drunken Dionysos supported by a Maenad, and to the left Dionysos again with a Maenad and Pan. The monument was dedicated to the god patron of the theatre, by Hierostes, son of Askelos, who had sponsored a victorious play (c. 300 BC). Near the temple many stone phalluses were found, one of which was placed on the base of Hierostes, which had most likely supported a similar votive offering. The exedra was created in the 2nd cent. BC, at which time a second phallus was probably placed symmetrically at the other end. In the exedra was a nude statue of Dionysos, seated incidentally upon a throne, between two statues of maenads in Epiprotetian costume. All three statues date to the late 2nd cent. BC.

Dionysos – the god of the creative power that fertilizes nature, he who by granting humanity the divine gift of the vine, allowed man to become equal, if only for a short while, to the gods – was extremely popular on Delos as well as on neighbouring Mykonos. He was worshipped all over Greece under some 150 different epithets, which declared his power and attributes. On Delos and Mykonos he was worshipped as *Lamnos* (god of the grape harvest), and *Baccheus* (god of mystical drunkenness and orgiastic ecstasy). He was depicted

ed in many statues, reliefs and mosaics made and crowned with vines or ivy, always accompanied by his happy entourage. Pausanias, a lifelong priest of Apollo at Delphi, reports that the Delphic sanctuary belonged equally to Dionysus and Apollo.¹⁰ Delos always belonged solely to Apollo and Mykonos to Dionysus, but on both islands the two gods were worshipped equally. The important sanctuary of Apollo Hecatombeus was discovered just last year on Mykonos and Dionysus was exceedingly popular on Delos. Despite their opposite characters, the two brothers collaborate and co-exist harmoniously, the one supplementing the other. "The is called *Thiosion*, after the perfect clarity of light and the other *Segnos*, *Nachtion* and *bedaktes*. *Polygambos*, full of passion, upheavals, wanderings and adventures are sung to Dionysus, while the restrained and more serene is devoted to Apollo. Apollo is considered ageless and eternally young, while Dionysus is depicted in many forms. In general Apollo is depicted with stable constant order and perfect grace. Dionysus associated with childish weakness, *Amazoneus*, youth (young mistress), he is called *Idion*, he who knows restraint and enjoys with the *seapards*." In the month of Camellian (January-February) the inhabitants of Delos celebrated the Lemnian festival honoring Dionysus. During the Period of Independence, in the month of Galaxien (March-April) they celebrated the Dionysia with processions, musical contests and performances of tragedies and comedies. On the 12th of the month, a procession made its way from the god's altar to the theatre. A central element of this procession was the painted wooden statue of a reclined with a phallus-shaped head hauled on a cart by workers. Phalluses of various sizes, symbolizing the procreative powers of the god who was worshipped as Dionysus Phallos, were found near the small temple.

The Museum (66) and snack bar (57) were built early in the 20th century on the ruins of a wealthy quarter of the city, of which only the facade of a row of shops opposite the Sanctuary precinct have been excavated. In front of the shops a portico with columns made of either granite or coarse-grained marble shielded customers from sun or rain. A stone-carver's workshop was located in the last building (66), on a wealthy house that had been abandoned after the devastation of 88 B.C. Among other unfinished sculptures found here is the grave-stile for a consoph ordered by the friends of Heron who was lost at sea. The corner shop is a rare example of a door that opens outward, which was forbidden as it was a hazard to passers-by.

On the opposite side of the narrow street is a strange small temple (65) possibly dedicated to Hermes, the god of trade and protector of this commercial district. Within the inner of the two rooms was a herm of the god; in front of it stood a marble table to receive the offerings of the faithful, only the legs of which have survived. The metal railing placed between the inner room and the outer room that opened onto the street may have served to protect these offerings.

Hermes was the basileus of all the Olympian gods since he was simultaneously maker, problem-making and solution, the patron of merchants, thieves and wayfarers, messenger of the gods and conductor of souls. Also born to Zeus out of wedlock - none of Zeus' legitimate children were worshipped on Delos - he associated amicably with his half-siblings. He was worshipped in the Gymnasium and Palaestrae along with Apollo and Heracles, while together mainly with Aphrodite but also with Apollo and Heracles, he was the patron of market inspectors, law enforcers, olive sellers, wine sellers, and merchants in general. Although many small temples were dedicated to his cult there is neither reference to, nor evidence of, any statues of Hermes, other than the herms found all over the city, on streets, squares and in private and public buildings. To date, 255 herms have been discovered, of which only a small number are intact. Most (191) are simple square pillars, of the type created in Athens, bearing the head of Hermes, or Heracles, or Homophrosdites, the portrait of an athlete, or, in rare instances, the head of a Satyr. Many (53) consist of a torso dressed in a chiton, himation, or himskin, the lower part of which terminates in a stilo, and depict Heracles, Harpocrates, Homophrosdites, Priapus, Silenus, and Satyrs. A few (8) consist of a nude torso depicting either a Satyr or Homophrosdites.

The street leads to a small stone-paved square in the centre of which is a circular marble 2nd cent. BC monument dedicated to the worship of the ancestors of the Hyerbandes family of Athens. Almost a millennium later, in the 5th cent. AD, the three-apsed early Christian basilica of St. Kyriakos the Martyr (60), was built on the ruins of the ancient houses using marble from the ancient votive offerings. The *ambulatoria*, tiered seats for the priests, and sections of the altar were found in the sanctuary, while parts of the marble pulpit were preserved in the nave.

A modern path over the unexcavated area of the city leads to the Aplousion (67). The small marble temple was dedicated to the goddess by the Delian archon Simeleus in 303/4 BC and consists of a vestibule and a cella. Inside the vestibule, was a marble bench on the left, and in the cella the marble cult statue of the

goddess holding a gold-plated wooden bowl, wreath of Steleios' offerings. On bases to the left and right of the entrance, were statues of his mother and father. Later Steleios' daughter Ekhenke donated the sum of 3,000 drachmas to the temple to fund annual sacrifices to Aphrodite and Apollo. The remains of the goddess' altar (as still to be seen in front of the temple, and offerings are still placed there to this day, usually flowers or fruit).

The Sanctuary accounts frequently list expenditure for the painting, maintenance and adornment of the statue and temple of the Goddess, and make careful note of the precious votive offerings kept in the temple and in the public market tables, bronze incense burners, many statues and statuettes of Aphrodite and Eros, white woollen pillows, gold jewelry, paintings, bronze mirrors, gold cups, glass bottles of perfume, etc.

The equally popular Eros was worshipped in the Gynnasium but did not have his own sanctuary, perhaps because Eros cannot exist without Aphrodite, as Plutarch notes in the *Expositio*: "...and since Hellenes say, there is no relation between the love of boys and great content, then how can this Eros exist without Aphrodite, since the gods assigned him to serve and love for her alone, and from her to receive as much power and glory as she permits? And should there be an Eros without Aphrodite, his education without love, but rather with a dash of fear and hatred, his education is foolish, useless and possibly cruel."

Of the approximately 50,000 representations that have been preserved on the clay-sal imprints from the House of Seals, more than 2,000 depict Eros in the form in which he was known in the Hellenistic era: a young winged boy equipped with a quiver and arrows, cunning, mischievous and cruel, a trial to gods and mortals alike.

He is often depicted playing the lyre while seated on the back of a dolphin. As companion to the Muses and Graces, Eros was especially fond of music, song and dance, because it is mainly through these means that mortals express, pursue, achieve, appease, intensely, sweeten or cure his sacred madness. It is he who makes poets even of those who are *triste* *triste*.¹⁴ As early as the classical era, Eros was portrayed with a variety of musical instruments, mainly the lyre, but also cithara, kithara (a musical instrument of many strings), pipes, drums, cymbals and triangle. He rarely played the *syma* perhaps because the *syma*, being the musical instrument of *shaphens*, is associated with its inventor, Pan. The boorish, inelegant and sexually insatiable Pan, who cared only for the pleasures of the flesh, frequently come into conflict with Eros who employed other means to secure his conquests. The few depictions of Eros with a *syma* are found in later antiquity, when Pan through the interpretations of the Stoics and the Neoplatonists was elevated to the stature of Great Pan, the personification of all the powers of nature.

One of the two statues that stood in the Gynnasium depicted the god with the lion's skin and club of Heracles, the official god of the Gynnasium, whom Eros had apparently disarmed and pushed aside. Seal imprints frequently show Eros victorious over the hero, disarming him, capturing and humiliating him, since even Heracles, the mightiest of mortals, was unable to resist Eros' power and succumbed to *Amphale*. At other times Eros is seen crowning Heracles as champion: the hero in one night slept with the 50 virgin daughters of Theopius, who gave him 50 sons, making him second after Poseidon in fathering children out of wedlock, a total of 60.

However, most of the representations on the seals are allegorical references to the trials of Psyche (soul) who is depicted in the form of a young girl or as a butterfly-nymph. Eros follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, embraces her and kisses her; he directs and governs her, tortures her, blames her and coddles her, pierces her with a spit and slowly melts her. These torments of Psyche are described in a Hellenistic epigram:

*...and there, you fell into the trap. Why do you struggle needlessly now
against your feelings? Eros himself has loosed your wings
and cast you into the fire. With March shall he smother your feeling
and your heart with a burning deed of love.
My tortured Psyche! You have no choice
and between this and death you can hardly breathe.*

Antipater, 14 (ant. 14)

Eros, being the son of the sea-born Aphrodite, had a special affection for marine activities. On the seals, as well as in other Hellenistic representations, he often appears as a fisherman, or as the helmsman of peculiar crafts, depictions which allegorically allude to his ability to capture and rule human souls:

*The Cyprus is my boatman, Eros in his hands
Holds the rudder and middle of my soul.*

METASTASIS, 17th cent., 38

There are fewer depictions where the roles are reversed and it is Psyche who captures and torments Eros. Even fewer are the scenes showing a happy end: the two embracing, kissing each other on the lips.

Also linked to Aphrodite and Eros is Hermaphroditus, son of Aphrodite and Hermes, who inherited the flawless beauty of both his parents. The nymph of the Salmaei Spring fell wildly in love with him and embracing him closely, was joined with him, giving him female characteristics as well. Originally, Hermaphroditus, an eastern deity who came to Greece via Cyprus, represented a primal human-being, superior and perfect, in whom both genders coexisted and who could reproduce himself. Such beings exist in all religions, and this is the idea that Aristophanes develops in *Plautus Symposium*; such a being is alluded to in the creation of Lancelotti of Eve from Adam's rib. It was Phrygians who first depicted beautiful sexual youths with soft virginal bodies, actualizing his own erotic fantasies as well as those of his male clientele. His statues of Apollo and Dionysos, but especially those of Solon and the Thespian Eros, the work he loved most,⁶⁶⁷ had intensely feminine features. If his Cnidian Aphrodite was the most famous and beloved of his statues, it was because her sensuality appealed to a broader audience:

"After enjoying the plants of the gardens we entered the temple. The goddess stands in the centre – an exquisite statue of Ionian marble – smiling faintly, gently, with parted lips. No garment hides her beauty, which is fully revealed, save for that place which out of modesty she tries to cover with her hand. So great was the sculptor's art that the hard and unyielding marble shaped itself to the depiction of such limbs. Charicles then let out a wild cry full of passion and said: "Ares, who was captured and bound because of her, was the happiest of all the gods." He ran forward and stretching up his neck began kissing the goddess instantly wherever he could. Kallimachos stood silent in speechless admiration. The temple has doors on both sides for those who wish to see the goddess from the rear as well... When the door opened her beauty dazzled us and the Athenian, whose gaze until that moment had been indifferent, upon seeing the buttocks of the goddess, which resembled those of a boy, let forth a cry more fervent than that of Charicles previously: "Hercules, what hermaphroditic proportions it has from the rear! What lush loins, they fill the hands embracing them! How beautifully the buttocks curve, neither fleshy, clinging to the loins, nor again corpulent. And these parts soaked on both sides by the daemones, how sweetly they smile! Unmistakably, to skin, to skin the proportions are perfect! Thus in the heavens does Ganymede appear as he serves nectar to Zeus, making it sweeter!"

During the Hellenistic era, a period of erotic saturation when alternative sources of entertainment were being sought, there were many more explicit depictions of tender boys with intensely feminine features. Artists were no longer satisfied with hints, and rather than depicting a boy with effeminate features, they depict a young maiden with the genitalia of a youth. Hermaphroditus was a very popular subject in Alexandria and Delos, cities where a late-adolescent femininity reigned and, because of their cosmopolitan character, the standards of social behavior were flexible enough to allow everyone to follow their heart's desires.

The depictions of Priapus, according to one tradition the son of Aphrodite by Dionysos, are different. Priapus was the patron god of gardens, fields, vineyards, herds, and bees, his huge phallus, which made him dangerously attractive to the women of Lampraios, was a symbol of fertility, while forecasts were sometimes added to stress his prescriptive power.

The *House of the Herms* (66), a multi-storied building excavated in 1949-1950, was literally the first Delian residence to yield significant findings and information, thanks to the distinguished French archaeologist Jean Marcadé. On the ground floor, to the immediate left of the entrance, is the latrine and at the end of the corridor a bathing chamber with a small clay bathtub and a bench for bathers to leave their clothing on. On the south side of the atrium are two recesses hewn out of the natural rock, from which water issues forth in this day. The water from the recesses, as well as rainwater from the roof, was collected in the under-



The atrium in the House of the Artist of Pompeii - V. Perin 1928

ground cistern under the atrium and drawn from the well in its center. It was here that the beautiful statue of a nymph, statues of Artemis, Aphrodite, Tyche and Heracles, many bronzes – hence the building's name – and a marble offerings table were found. The atrium has marble colonnades on three sides. On the north side of the atrium is the *Oikos*, with two small bedchambers (or secure storerooms) behind it; the layout is identical to that of the Lake House and other Dikea dwellings. A smaller *oikos* on the east side of the atrium was reserved for more private dining. Two stone stairways led to the first storey, one directly, the other passing first through a type of *exedra*. The first floor replicated the ground floor peristyle layout, while the remaining floors followed a terraced arrangement up the side of the hill. It is uncertain whether this was the residence of a wealthy family or whether it was the *lexip* (headquarters) of some society.

A little farther along, on a lower level is the *Scapitium A 37B*, the earliest sanctuary of the god Sarapis, established around 720 BC. As in the other two *Scapitium*, the god was worshipped here in conjunction with Isis, Anubis and later, Harpocrates, known to the Greeks as Harpokrates.

Marble benches serving the gatherings of the faithful run along the walls in one hall. An inscription on the front of the benches gives the name of the donor, a practice that continues to this day on church pews:

"Ansis, son of Antiochus, and Seleucia, daughter of Soganes, from Ptoios, dedicate this to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, for the children" (ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣΙΣΙΣΙΔΕΙΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥΚΑΙΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΔΟΥΛΩΝΕΡΩΝΕΣΤΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΑΝΙΣΙΣΑΝΥΒΙΣΙΣΙ). The temple is located in a small tiled court, over an underground cistern,¹⁷ which used to fill with the sacred waters of the Inopos used in ritual cleansing. The myth that the Inopos River communicated underground with the Nile, whose waters were necessary for the rituals of the Egyptian sanctuaries, may have been created precisely to serve these needs. Despite the establishment of two other Sarapia, this earliest sanctuary of the god continued to function until the destruction of Delos.

An inscription with a lengthy verse account¹⁸ carved into a small marble column narrates Sarapis' arrival on Delos in great detail, and the difficulties his priest encountered when attempting to establish the sanctuary on that site. The god appeared to him in a dream, demanding that a temple be established on a specific lot. But there were objections, possibly from the priests, perhaps because the god, by selecting one of the highest spots on the island for his temple, was aspiring to appear as the major god and patron of the land, overshadowing Apollo.

The tale is told by the priest Apollonios and retold by Maestias, poetically, grandiloquently and gamely, requiring twice as many lines as Apollonios. Later the god again intervened to assist his sanctuary. This time the international intervention came in the form of a Roman Senate decree, which was also sent to the Demos of the Athenians. Sarapis used to appear to his followers in dreams, as the saints did later, demanding that his wishes be fulfilled. The inscriptions on votive offerings explain that they were dedicated "by order of the god." It was in a dream that he appeared to Ptolemy I Soter to demand that "his statue" be transferred to Alexandria as quickly as possible. This new god was an inspiration of Ptolemy who, continuing the policy of Alexander, wanted to create a god common to both Egyptians and Greeks as an attempt to unify his kingdom's subjects in the worship of a god acceptable to all. The God borrowed the name of the divine bull Chon-Hapi, took on certain attributes of Osiris, Zeus, Asclepius and Dionysos, and the form of Hylas, whose statue he appropriated. The Ptolemies were so successful at promoting their creation that very soon Sarapis became a universal god, and on Delos, the center of the traditional Greek religion, he acquired three important sanctuaries. By gathering unto himself the domains of most of the male deities, appearing compassionate and mystical, but at the same time magnificent, a just Father-Protector, Sarapis prepared the way for the passage from polytheism to monotheism and constitutes the model for the depiction of the Christ-child. The same occurred with Isis, his divine consort, who appropriated the domains of all the female deities:

"I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements, the initial progeny of souls, sharer of powers divine. Queen of heaven, the principall of the Gods celestial, the light of the goddesses of my will the planets of the zodiac, the wholesome winds of the Soles, and the silence of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world in divers manners, in variable costumes and in many names, for the Phrygians call me the mother of the Gods; the Athenians, Metera; the Egyptians, Venus; the Carians, Dione; the Sicilians Proserpine; the Eleans, Cybele; some Juno, other Hekate, other Hecate; and principally the Rhodians which dwell in the Orient, and the Egyptians which are excellent in all kind of sacred doctrine, and by their proper ceremonies ascribe to worship me, do call me Queen Isis."¹⁹

The reservoir of the Inopos (71) built in the 2nd cent. BC beside the Sarapeion A was 40 m. long and between eight and ten m. wide. On its south side is a fine stairway with 21 marble steps leading down to the water level, making it easier to draw. The landing is surrounded by a well-constructed marble wall. There is a second reservoir higher up below the Sarapeion C.

On the hillside above the reservoir is the Samothrakion (72), a sanctuary dedicated to the Cabiri, the Great Gods of Samothrace, who were later identified with the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, sons of Leda, brothers of the immortal Helen. Menelaos's wife, and the mortal Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon. When Castor, the mortal son of Tyndareus, was killed, Pollux implored his father Zeus to allow him to share his immortality with his beloved brother so that each of them could spend one day in Hades and one on Olympus. Zeus placed the two brothers in the heavens, creating the constellation of Gemini (Twins). The Dioscuri protected and guided sailors, and their symbols, two breasted caps surmounted by a star, are frequently found in houses on Delos.



The Sanctuary and the Monument of Mithridates VI. Aphrodisias, 1960.

A broad stairway hewn into the rock leads from the river bank to the temple, a 4th cent. BC building on whose east side runs a portico with four Ionic columns between pilasters. In the 2nd cent. BC a niche was added on the south side, and in 102/1 BC a monument was erected on the north side to King Mithridates Eupator of Pontus, a square, open hall with two Ionic columns between pilasters on the facade. In the tympanum of the pediment was a bust in a disk. Another twelve circular busts, representing Mithridates' parents, created a kind of frieze inside the monument. The heads of all the busts are missing and it is believed that they were destroyed after 88 BC in an act of vengeance. At the back of the monument was a statue of Mithridates-Euhoistys, an offering by the Athenian priest Helianus. The circular base in front of the temple once supported a round bull's altar, parts of which have fallen down by the side.

Opposite the Sarapieion are upstart private houses and shops (429). House A is a squatter residence with a half-completed peristyle on two sides of its atrium. A marble base outside the house, bearing the inscription *Nikamachos*, supported a chariot monument in the shape of a pladus. Stone steps lead to the Sarapieion II (436), a private shrine belonging to Egyptian merchants and built ca. 200 BC.

On the terrace above the second Sarapieion (435) are the sanctuaries of the Syrian and Egyptian Gods separated by a transverse wall. In the *Sanctuary of the Syrian (Hörür)* (435), Atargatis, identified with Aphrodite, was worshipped together with her companion Hadad, a god akin to Zeus. The sanctuary was probably established in the mid-second century BC, initially as a private shrine and then, from the last decade of the 2nd cent. until its destruction (88 BC), as the official Sanctuary of the Syrian gods. Access was initially from the south side, up a flight of stairs leading to the propylaea. To the right was the older part of the sanctuary, a square court surrounded by buildings, on the south side of which were the temples of the gods. Just before 100 BC, the Sanctuary was extended and occupied the entire northern part of the terrace; it was then that a new propylaea (gate) was built on the north side, as the main entrance. Between the two gateways a long avenue was created, with a colonnade on the west side and a small theatre on the east. In the centre of the street is an *exedra* dedicated, according to the inscriptions on the mosaic floor, by the Athenians Phormion and Midas. Right opposite, on the west side of the street there is a small theatre for an audience of between 400 and 500, with a portico in the shape of a Φ around the upper part, which appears to have been used for religious mysteries and ceremonies. In some other rooms on the same terrace, ceremonial banquets were held.

The south part of the terrace is occupied by the third Sarapieion (C) (435), which was the official sanctuary of the Egyptian gods after about 180 BC. An imposing gateway on the SE led to an oblong, colonnaded space. From the little temple in the south, a stone-paved avenue 70 m. long, flanked by two rows of square altars alternating with sphinxes, led to a square colonnaded court in which were the temples of the gods. The temple of Serapis, on the north side of the court, consisted of a square cella and a portico with four columns. In front of the temple, part of the altar of the god has been preserved. The partially restored temple of Isis on the east side was built in the early 2nd cent. BC and repaired in 135 BC by the Athenians. The tympanum of the pediment was adorned by a bust, headless today. The female figure on the acrotéri-

on probably represents Nike. The temple is in the Doric order, with two columns between pilasters. At the back of the cella is the headless cult statue of the goddess, dedicated in 129 BC by the Attalians; her high altar, which has been preserved in good condition, is in front of the temple.

The Egyptian goddess Isis was introduced into the Hellenic goddesses as early as the 6th cent. BC, but her cult was disseminated mainly after Egypt was conquered by Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of the Ptolemies was established. Alexander himself, when planning Alexandria, designated the site on which the temples of the Hellenic gods were to be built as well as that of the Egyptian goddess Isis.¹⁰ who by about the 3rd-2nd cent. BC had been Hellenised and was depicted in the type of the other Greek goddesses. Her multicoloured garments symbolised light and darkness, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end: in one hand she held the *sistrum* with which she regulated the ebb and flood tides of the Nile, and in the other a cornucopia, symbol of fertility. After the Alexandrine years, Isis was worshipped as a maritime deity, invoker of the sail, patron divinity of seafarers, "Mistress of the Winds", "Mistress of Navigation", according to hymns from Kyre and Andros. Her cult lasted until the 6th cent. AD, and even today, as you can see on the Internet, the goddess still has a priestess and thousands of devotees. Isis was particularly popular in the Hellenistic period because she was a compassionate goddess, affectionate as a mother, the "refuge of the grief-stricken", in whom everybody found comfort for their earthly tribulations and hope for life after death:



"Immortal and holy protectress of the human race, you who always seek to relieve, who give a mother's love to unhappy people, who never let them on foot or a mother's nurse to do good; who protect us on earth and at sea, who dissolve the tempests of life, who help us even when we are being harassed by fate, who step aside and turn away the bad influence of the stars. Heaven worships you! Hades acknowledges you; you have the sphere, you light the sun and move the universe of your foot in Tartarus; the stars obey you and you give new life to their brightness; you bring the seasons, you determine the elements; because of you winds blow, clouds gather, seeds germinate and ripen. The birds that inhabit the air, the animals that roam the mountains, the snakes that crawl on the earth, the monsters that swim in the sea, all humble before your power..."¹¹

Images of Isis nursing little Horus were the model for the representation of the Madonna and Child.

A significant women's feast in honour of Isis, called *pharia* by the Greeks, or *Isidis navigium* by the Romans, survived until the 6th cent. AD. The feast started in Alexandria, but was celebrated in many places and certainly in Delos, which always had close relations with the Kingdom of the Ptolemies, and where the goddess was especially popular. At the beginning of March, when sea voyages would begin again, the statue of the goddess was transferred to a lavishly bedecked ship which would leave the port accompanied by other ships, and return after a journey of a few hours. An image carved on the wall of the House of Ptolemy Reliefs depicting a female deity on a ship, may possibly represent this ceremony. This ritual "blessing of the sailors" continues up to the present day in a similar way. At Mega Chala on neighbouring Syros, on the feast of the Junga Thalassini (Virgin of the Sea), the same ceremony is held. The icon of the Virgin of the Sea, accompanied by priests and the faithful, is carried in richly decorated canopies that sail out of the port surrounded by many other, festively adorned craft. After a brief stop during which hymns and prayers to the Virgin are sung, the procession returns to the port and the icon is then taken back to the church.

On Delos, Isis was worshipped as *Pharia*, *Sotira*, *Euploia*, *Tyche*, and *Heged*. Seamen's prayers were addressed to her, to Aphrodite, to Heracles, to the Dioscuri and to Hecabeta, as were the thanks of those who were saved from storms or pirates. Beside the temple of Isis there was another, smaller temple, dedi-



Two seated Harpokrates (Harpagion, 2nd cent. and
 seated ship 61 (10 m, long)/from the House of Plautus (Rome, 1967).
 The goddess in her characteristic dress and crown stands like a mast in the stern
 of the decorated ship with her arms open like sails (11th cent. and).

erated to Sarapis, Isis, Harpokrates and Anubis, Harpokrates (Harpakhrōn) was the son of Thetis and has the young sun which, upon rising, scatters the darkness of night and conquers the family enemy Set. In Egyptian representations Harpokrates was depicted with his finger on his mouth, and although indicating simply that the god was in his childhood, the gesture was misinterpreted by the Greeks and seen as a symbol of confidentiality and silence.¹⁰ Jackal-headed Anubis is the guard of graves and conductor of souls; he is the one thanked for deceased loved ones. He conducts souls to the other world who have already been through the ordeal of judgment and found clean; he takes them to Osiris to weigh their hearts. Loyal to the family, he followed the exiled Isis to the swamps of the Delta and embalmed the dead Osiris.

Above the Sarapision K is the Hierakon (766), sanctuary of Zeus's lawful wife Hera, some distance away from that of her rival. The older temple, built in the 7th cent. BC, was severely preserved under the elevated floor of the more magnificent later temple erected in about 500 BC. Inside and behind the older temple were found some 1,200 buried vases and terracotta figurines, or fragments of such items, offerings to the goddess. The later Doric temple was surrounded by a precinct. South of the temple is the marble altar of the goddess. The sanctuary of Hera, the richest and most important of the sanctuaries on Lesbos in the archaic period, fell into decline in the Hellenistic period, together with the values expressed by the goddess.

The Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune) (77) consists of an oblong court flanked by two porticoes, a small temple and rooms of unknown use. It has been identified as the Philadelphicon, a sanctuary devoted to the worship of Arsinoë, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 BC), represented as Agathe Tyche, with a horn of plenty in her left hand.

From some distance away, one can make out the enormous granite slabs used to roof the *Grotto* (78) that was created in a natural cavity in the rock, and closed in front by a wall. A door with a marble frame leads to the interior that has been left in its natural state. In the centre of this small space is a granite pedestal on which parts of a Hellenistic statue of Heracles were found, with a table for offerings in front of it. In the little court outside, there were two tables that were probably used for communal meals as well as a large cylindrical altar. The grotto impressed early travellers who regarded it as the most ancient temple of Apollo. But it is in fact a Hellenistic sanctuary of Heracles, probably also founded by Ptolemy II to honour his legendary ancestor. Heracles was the first seafarer, the first hero to sail the seas and tame the ocean. Most of his adventures, as can be seen in the table below, were the sons or grandsons of Poseidon, god of the sea.

The myths surrounding Heracles reflect the successful efforts by the Greeks to tame and ply the seas, and his feats symbolise the obstacles they encountered and overcame. If Theseus cleared the way from Troezen to Athens and made it safe to travel inland, Heracles opened the roads to the world, making sea voyages



The Theatre Quarter

In a small valley

at the foot of Mt Kythnos two significant buildings have been excavated: the *House of the Dolphins* (80) and the *House of the Masks* complex.

The main entrance to the *House of the Dolphins* (80) was flanked by two altars to the gods who protected its inhabitants. One was square and constructed has not survived, but the other cylindrical marble one has been preserved intact. On a niche above it was a painting of Heracles. On the mosaic floor of the passageway is the ideogram of the Thracian goddess Tanit, which was of a deterrent nature, i.e. it was placed there to keep evil away from the house. The floor of the atrium is covered by a splendid mosaic: in the centre is a rosette surrounded by sixteen concentric circles decorated with beaded bands, alternating heads of lions and griffins, stylised waves and a three-dimensional Greek key.

The playful nature of the dolphin, its affection for its companion and its legendary love of music, very early on associated it with the marine, popular and musical Eros. Eros is frequently represented swimming, holding on to dolphins, riding on dolphins or playing the lyre while sitting on their back. It is most likely that depictions such as this one, where Eros has harnessed energetic dolphins with reins, like the engine on a warship,¹⁰ allude allegorically to the military and destructive nature of the god.

The *House of the Masks* complex (81) consists of four houses. The atrium of the main residence has a peristyle of the Illyrian type. In this type of peristyle, the colonnade in front of the main rooms is higher, permitting these rooms to be higher and to receive more light. To support the lower architraves on the other sides, projections were placed on the corner columns, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated, as in the *House of the Trident* (89) in which they are in the form of two busts of lions and bulls. In the four rooms that look out onto the atrium, the mosaic floors have been beautifully preserved, as have large sections of the plaster in imitation of marble. In the entry of the floor in the northeast corner of the peristyle, Dionysos is portrayed seated on a leopard or panther between two Centaurs. The god is wearing a long, sleeved chiton and a second one over it with short sleeves. His himation is wrapped around his thighs and he is crowned with ivy; in one hand, he holds a thyrsus and in the other a drum. On the floor of the adjacent main hall, karyages and broken bands create the impression of three-dimensional cubes. In the two bands flanking the main image, between tendrils of ivy, are ten theatrical masks of typical roles in the New Comedy. In the next hall, a Silenos, standing on his feet, is dancing to the accompaniment of a *diurlos* (double flute) played by a nude Satyr seated on a rock. In the last hall, between two lovely maenads, an amphora is depicted and a palm branch and, below it, a bird pecking fruit. In front of the threshold are facing dolphins. Because of the representations on the mosaic floors, the building has been associated with the theatre, but since the same decorative motifs can be found in many houses on Delos and in other ancient cities, it seems unlikely that the function of the building determined the subject matter of its decoration.

The next building group (82), which consists of many rooms and has an enormous cistern with a capacity of 370 m³, was probably the *Xenon* or guest house.

Construction began on the *Delos Theatre* (83) just after 314 BC, and was completed 70 years later. The *audita*, the semi-circular auditorium where the audience sat, rested on a sturdy marble retaining wall. It is divided into two horizontal sections (*gynaeceia*) with 26 and 47 stepped seats respectively that could accommodate a total of some 6500 spectators. Access to the *hellen* was either by the *paradeia*, i.e. two large gates on either side of the semi-circular orchestra, by another two entrances at the level of the passageway separating the two sections, or by one last one at the middle of the highest point of the *hellen*. The seats in the

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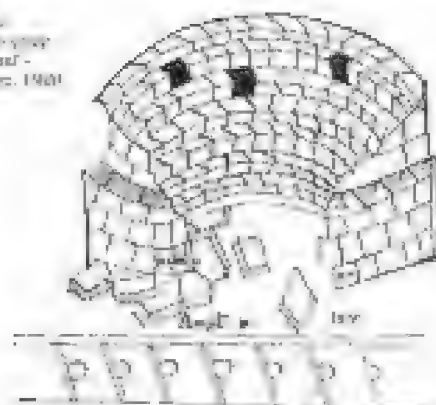
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Plan of the House of the Virgin Mary (Q. Chammam) - N. Chammam, 1960



The Theatre, as drawn in 1445 by Giovanni di Antonio.

first row (the *proedra*) have been best preserved and are the only seats with back support as they were reserved for humoured persons. The semicircular *orchestra*, which was the main part of the theatre, was closed on its straight side by the *skene*, the stage-building and dressing rooms, a rectangular structure with the external dimensions of 15.26 x 0.65 m. with three entrances on the east side and another on the west. In front of the *skene* was the *proskeneion*, a colonnade 2.67 m. high with Ionic semi-columns between which were movable painted panels.²² The metopes on the *proskeneion* entablature were decorated with relief tripods and bulls' heads. Later a *pericea* was added to the other three sides of the *skene*, the same height as the *proskeneion*, with Ionic piers the bases of which have been preserved. The chorus moved in the semicircular *orchestra*, while the actors played on top of the *proskeneion*.

Southwest of the theatre, vestiges of altars and shrines (B6) dedicated to Artemis-Herakle, Apollo, Dionysus, Hermes and Ian have been preserved.

There is a remarkable, large reservoir of the Theatre (B5) in which rainwater flowing down from the *akadai* was collected through a channel around the perimeter of the orchestra. On its upper level, supported by eight graceful granite arches, were the mouths of the wells from which water was drawn.

To the left and right of the main stone-paved road that leads from the Sacred Tree to the Theatre, is the *Khutay* Quarter, the oldest district in the ancient city. On both sides of this irregular and uphill street are small shops, behind which are private houses. The quarter was dug up rapidly at the beginning of the last century, which is why very few objects were found from the wealthy houses, and the information thus derived is minimal and confused.²³ Despite the hasty excavation, most of the remarkable mosaic floors from this quarter have been preserved.

The House of the Trident (B9) is a lavish dwelling with a Rhodian peristyle. The supports of the corner columns are in the form of double busts of lions and bulls. Since these busts are regarded as symbols of the two Syrian deities Asaggaia and Hadad, it has been argued, without certainty, that the house may have belonged to a merchant from Syria. In the atrium there is a mosaic with a multicoloured, three-dimensional Greek key and on the peristyle floor is a taldeti adorned with a lion and a dolphin curled around an anchor. On the mosaic in the *exedra* is depicted a Panathenaic amphora decorated with a *chamist*, a wreath and a palm branch. Panathenaic amphorae were given as prizes at the Panathenaic games; this representation suggests victory in the chariot races.



The excavation of the Theatre in the early 19th century. Wagner on the left carried the rubble to sides of the surrounding region, creating a ditch at his feet, but altered the face of his landscape.

One of the largest houses in the quadrate is the House of Dionysus (87). In the middle of the large peristyle court there is an exceptional mosaic emblem representing Dionysus that has given its name to the house. The god is presented winged, crowned with ivy, and seated on the back of a tiger around whose neck is a wreath of vines and grapes. In his raised right hand he is holding a thyrsus decorated with a ribbon as though it were a spear. The mosaic on the floor depicts a fallen silver kantharos, wine vessel and symbol of the god, among plants. This is one of the most important mosaics of the Hellenistic period, created with hundreds of tiny tesserae of glass paste and semi-precious stones. The same theme is depicted in the House of the Masks and in houses in other ancient cities (Hella, Eretia, Pompeii),¹⁷ indicating that they had a common model. It may possibly portray the return of the god from India, and may have been inspired by the re-enactment at the Ptolemaic procession in Alexandria, or by paintings on the same theme on the intercolumniation of Ptolemy's shrine. The Ptolemaia were established between 270-270 BC by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in honour of his father, and were celebrated every five years, an event as prestigious as the Olympic Games. The high point of the celebrations was an extravagant procession in which 57,000 footsoldiers and 23,200 horsemen took part, according to estimates by Callixenus.¹⁸ In this Dionysiac procession that lasted from dawn to dusk, hundreds of Sileni and Satyrs took part walking behind girls, boys, and maenads crowned with grapevines or ivy. A chariot drawn by 160 men carried the statue of Dionysus and was followed by other chariots with mechanical statues that would stand up, pour libations and sit down again. Mountains gushed forth milk but especially wine, and there were hundreds of exotic birds and animals associated with the cult of the god: 2000 bulls, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes. Other chariots bore allegorical figures such as Victories (Nikes) with golden wings, Aphrodisia (Pleury), Nyssa, the homeland of Dionysus, Hygieia (Health), Axia (Worth), and other women representing conquered cities. "The return of Dionysus from the Indies was represented in a four-wheeled carriage. A Dionysos six metres tall was semi-reclining on an elephant, dressed in purple garments and with a gold wreath of ivy and vines on his hair. In his hand he held a gold thyrsus-spear and his boots were strewed with gold. On the elephant's neck sat a sister 2.5 metres high wearing a gold wreath of pine and holding a golden horn of plenty in his right hand. The elephant's harness was gold and round its neck was a

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100-101

"The wheel turns..." – The end

*Would that I were still the son of every folk's maid,
not noted here as wandering Fate's childbed;
such loneliness I'd not have known. Hapless me!
How many Greek ships will pass deserted Delos,
whose all respected name of old, Hera slaved her virginest
for Leto, but lost this terrible reputation.*

ANTONYUS, 17th cent. AD¹⁶

The wealth that had been accumulated on the island and the Delians' friendly relations with Rome were the main causes of the island's destruction. The island was devastated and sacked twice: in 88 BC by Mithridates King of Pontus, who was at war with the Romans, and again in 69 BC by the pirates of Athenodorus, an ally of Mithridates. "When the generals of Mithridates and the favour who obliged her to revolt attacked Delos, they destroyed it totally," writes Strabo at the end of the first cent. BC. "When the king retreated to his own country and the Romans took the island back, it was deserted, and it continues to be in desolate up to the present day. Now it belongs to the Athenians." Pausanias¹⁷ gives many details: "Delos was the trade centre of the Hellenes and merchants believed they were safe on the god's sacred island. But Menophanes, one of Mithridates's generals, whether out of pure wantonness or by express orders of Mithridates, and being aware that Delos was unfortified and its inhabitants unarmed, sailed against it with triremes, killed the foreigners who lived there, killed the Delians, and having looted the merchandise and all the votive offerings, took the women and children slaves, and destroyed Delos. And while they were sacking the city, some Ephesian hasteman threw the wooden cult statue (xoanon) of the god into the sea. The waves tossed it up in the region of Iliou, which was then named Epileleion. But neither Menophanes nor Mithridates eluded the wrath of the god. As soon as Menophanes left after the sack Delos, he was waylaid by some merchants who had escaped and was sunk together with his ship. Later when Mithridates' kingdom was crushed and the Romans besieged him everywhere, the god drove him to suicide. Others say that he asked a mercenary to kill him as a favour. This was the end to which their impiety led them." Appian¹⁸ continues the information that 20,000 men were slaughtered on Delos, most of whom were Italians, and that the treasures looted there were sent to Athens accompanied by 2000 men.

After Delos was first sacked in 88 BC, many of its wealthy inhabitants abandoned the island, and the domes of many houses were found sealed by walls. Before the city even had time to recover and before the buildings could be repaired, the second, and even more destructive blow came from Athenodorus's pirates, who attacked suddenly one winter's night in 69 BC, sacked the sanctuary and the city and set fire to many houses in the northern quarter. The pirates landed in the Skardaneas harbour and found the inhabitants totally unprepared, most of whom were taken prisoner and ended up being sold in the slave markets of the Levant. Evidence of the disaster is visible to this day, particularly in the northern quarter of the city, which was burnt down. In the Lake House, an amphora of wine that had been put in the wall to keep its contents cool until the evening symposium, was never opened. Four blocks away, a woman hastily buried her jewellery, but was never able to come back for it. Customers drinking in a tavern near the Sanctuary find in a panic, throwing their wine cups on the floor, while the prostitute who was working in a room over the tavern left behind not only her cheap jewellery and cosmetics, but her savings as well. In a house behind the tavern, a cooking pot was found on the hearth, still containing the last meal. Stone-carvers working near the Poros of Philip, who were mass-producing statues of Aphrodite and Heracles for the pilgrims, left them half-finished; likewise, colossal statues and marble tables remained unfinished. In the Agora of the Italians, givre statues were left uncompleted and never placed on the intended graves.

The ancient city had developed only as an extension of the port: it flourished as long as the transit trade between east and west was concentrated there; and it ceased to exist when the port became unsafe and trade moved to the harbours of the West.

Two years after Delos was sacked for the second time, the Roman general Gnaeus Titianus tried to repair "the damaged parts of the city" and to protect it with a wall; until then "Delos" tower was Apollo's (Callimachus). But it was too late. Neither the class of people that had created this cosmopolitan city with in just a few decades nor commerce establish emotional ties with a place. The wealthy merchants, shipowners and bankers had abandoned Delos and resettled in more secure ports in the Mediterranean. The city gradually dwindled, was abandoned and forgotten. Tertullian, apologist of Christianity, cited the later Sibyllic oracle in a characteristically spiteful way: *"kai Samos ammes kai Delos adeles"*. This play with puns and rhymes was elegantly translated by Liddell as: *"Even Samos shall be sad, the fair-see [Delos] unseen"*.

The decline was so dramatic that in 58 BC, a decision was required by the Roman senate to acknowledge the sacredness of the island. The Athenians were now indifferent to Delos; they stopped sending archons and appointed only a lifetime priest of Apollo, who lived in Athens. Later they even tried to sell it, but could find no buyers. Pausanias,¹¹ writing in the 2nd cent. AD, reports that were it not for the Sanctuary guard sent by the Athenians, Delos would be totally devoid of any human presence.

In the early centuries AD, there was even a considerable Christian community on the island, as testified by the remains of eight early Christian basilicas and the fact that Delos is mentioned as being the see of a bishop. After the 7th cent. AD, however, it appears to have been totally deserted. The ruins of the luxurious houses were covered with earth and weeds and the uninhabited islet became a pirates' lair,¹² as it had been during the prehistoric period.

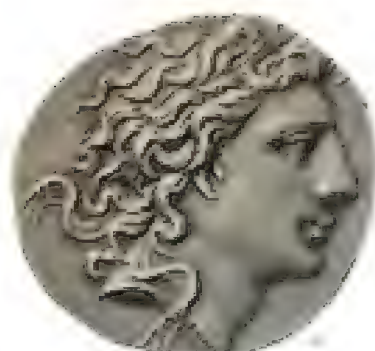
*Saved none of Leda's children, unheeded
 grieving in the Aegean by Demos' son,
 by your gods, lady, I'll no'er call you hapless
 and nor will I attend the words of Antipater;
 whilst you were rejected Thetis, Artemis too
 after Rhodope calls you her homeland.*

ARCHIMOS OF MATHIASE, 1st cent. AD



Adelos – Delos – Adelos – Sdiles, and again Delos

Delos returns to human memory



Silver tetradrachme with the head of Aphrodite
c.400-350 BC

In 1154 AD, the Arab geographer Idrisi describes the islet Anbiki as "a small, deserted, uninhabited, but with a port." Delos and Rhenea, whose name had been completely forgotten, were referred to collectively as Sdiles, Sdali or Sdilis and even today the Mykenians call the two islands Delos: Mikres-Delos is Delos and Megales Delos is Rhenea. In the Mykenian Christian calendar, St Basil comes from "Limer Thelos", the fertile southern part of Rhenea, where, as in antiquity, the wealthiest farms are located:

*St Basil comes from Limer Thelos
Holding a basket full of limpets
And another basket full of bivalves.
He is the limpets, asks for bivalves
we offer him sweet sauce and he jumps up and dances.*

With the Renaissance and the study of the ancient texts, Delos returned to human memory. In 1643, Cyrenius of Ancona visited it, copied some inscriptions and made drawings of the ruins. He was followed by many travellers who usually produced fictitious representations of the ruins. For centuries, the ruins of the ancient buildings were quarried by the inhabitants of the surrounding islands as construction materials. Meanwhile, on both Delos and Rhenea, lime kilns converted the ancient sculptures and marble architectural members to lime. Marble buildings were also demolished to remove their lead and bronze joints, as metal was valuable at that period. The British travellers Stuart and Revett,¹¹ who visited Delos in March of 1758 expressed their melancholy sentiments: "This island, once so celebrated, the resort of multitudes, the seat of religion, religious ceremonies and pompous processions is now an uninhabited desert everywhere strewed with ruins, so various, and so well wrought, as to evince its once populous and flourishing condition. The only animals we saw here, besides rabbits and snakes, were a few sheep brought occasionally from Myconos, a neighbouring island, to crop the sandy herbage which the ruins will permit to grow. Travellers, who have visited this place, have been distressed for water; I have, therefore, given a map of the island, in which, among other particulars, the situation of an excellent well is marked. The search for curious marbles here is continually diminishing as deprived of a custom, the Turks have, of placing at the heads of the graves of their deceased friends a marble column; and the miserable sculptors of that nation cover here every year and work up the fragments for that purpose, carving the figure of a turban on top of the monumental stone. Other pieces they carry off for hotels and window sills; so that, in a few years, it may be as naked as when it first made its appearance above the surface of the sea."

The distressing situation was also described later by the French anthropologist C.S. Sonnini,¹⁰⁰ who, on instructions from Louis XVI, visited Greece and Turkey in 1778:

"A sort of religious thrill seizes the soul when, leaving Mykonos behind, one sets sail westward and approaches a very small island, but one which was the most celebrated of all in antiquity: a sacred place, the cradle of Apollo and Diane, subject of songs by the most famed poets and object of veneration by the ancients, who used to go there to worship Apollo in a temple that was among the most impressive buildings on earth, majestic jewel of the most magnificent city in the world. There is no one who has not heard tell of the wonders of Delos, of its monuments, of its riches, of its brilliant population, of the magnificent elegance of its architecture. There is no one with a sense of beauty who has not sought avidly in the chronicles of Greece's good times the description of so many achievements of art, and I certainly do not intend to repeat here what one can read in many works of great merit..."

"But the island of Delos, once so opulent, on which religious ceremonies were celebrated with such splendour, in the presence of countless throngs of people from all parts of the Orient, is now just a deserted island, abandoned to unclean animals and covered with ruins and rubble. Pirates and bandits are practically the only people who approach it; they go there to divide up the booty from their brigandage, or to make new plans to sack and pillage, suited on fragments of altars on which incense and perfumes were burned to glorify the god all day."

"The ruins of Delos, imposing remains of the most beautiful buildings with which ancient Hellas was glorified, are already not the way modern travellers who visited them have described. They have become even more ruined, and they owe this new degradation to the profane barbarism of people who go there to take away materials to build their houses, or venetian Turkish domes, who every year remove valuable pieces of marble to make the little columns with the turban on top which Mohammedans erect on the graves of the dead. The very name of Delos has been forgotten in the cursive on which it had once acquired such a great reputation. The Greeks call the two islands of Delos *Deli*, and our navigators designate them by the name *Delos*."

But despite the devastation and desolation, the landscape always retained its unique fascination. On Friday, 10 July 1901 at 6:30 p.m., C.P. Cavafy¹⁰¹ arrived at the lavareto of Rhenea on his first trip to Greece. His past, whose work was only minimally concerned with the description of nature, for which his contemporaries criticised him, was charmed by the beauty of the landscape and devoted a few lines in his personal diary to describe it: "We have reached Delos... At 5 a.m., the sea under the rising sun, presented a beautiful appearance; and beautiful also looked the islands that studded the horizon ... The sea's colour and form are wonderful – intensely Greek ... The island is pretty to look at. The bay most picturesque. But it appears that there are very few inhabitants at Delos, and almost no cultivation – whether owing to the natural barrenness of the soil or to the carelessness of the population, I am not aware. Fair weather this morning. Thermometer at 78°..."



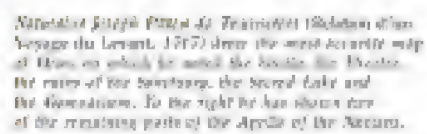
Constantine Meunier's Map of Delos and Rhenea by about 1820.



The temple of Apollo, as imagined by Francesco Antonicelli, in about 1700.



Journal of the Western Soc. of Int. Police (A. J. Brown, Ed.,
London, 1982). Among the cases the focus of interest,
which are reported with narrative, are by distinguished



“When the oak has fallen all rush to gather wood”

GREEK THOUGHT

Systematic excavations began on the island in 1878, but as is frequently the case, grave robbers, treasure-hunters and cultured foreign “collectors” had preceded the archaeologists. “Enlightened” Western travellers who came to pay their respects to the site on which a remarkable civilisation had come into being, rarely failed to take home some piece of the “plunder” ruins with them: “Regarding the masterpieces of antiquity,” writes French archaeologist Edmond About in 1956, “there are not that many. All the paintings have been lost, as one can imagine. The sculptors departed for Rome during the age of the Caesars, for Venice at the time of Moysesini, for Germany at the time of Gnapius, for England under Lord Elgin, for Russia at the time of Orloff and of Governor Rappoditskias. We shall never learn what the Russians took and what they destroyed in the archipelago at the period of their domination there, and Athenian archaeologists still speak with distress of the diplomatic generosity of Rappoditskias.”¹⁰

Neither Delos nor Rheneia escaped this fate. The former’s Sanctuary and wealthy houses and the latter’s cemeteries were being looted for centuries, so that today most European museums can boast that they have something from the Sacred Isle in their collections.

“Innumerable European travellers have always visited Delos and many of their warships would deliberately anchor further and they would set themselves to excavating prior to the establishment of the Hellenic Kingdom, and there is no doubt that many ancient relics belonging to our nation were carried off to foreign states. Many years ago, during the mission of Delos a marble head was found, which the French consul of France in Mykonos purchased.”¹¹

One of the tasks imposed on the Mykonians by the Russians was to load “the marbles from Delos”¹² onto ships, while in 1878, the “British Royal Consul Peter Cordias” was so shameless that his name ended up in the Mykonian idiom as being synonymous with crook and dealer in illicit antiquities.¹³ It goes without saying that Edmond About, who was mentioned earlier, neglected to number his compatriots¹⁴ among the “antiquity-loving” foreigners.

“Most honourable notables and authorities of the municipality of the island of Mykonos, may you be healthy and prosperous. It was reported by his excellency the Ambassador of France to the supreme and large lord Capaden Pasha our master, that at the month of November, when a French ship hovered off your neighbouring island, Delos by name, some citizens presciently plundered objects from this ship [...] Nicholas Mourmouris 13 January 1879, from the chronicle.”¹⁵

Apart from the looting by foreigners, the Mykonians themselves “would sally out from time to time and dig”¹⁶ and find statues and grave stelae that they donated in 1929 to the newly established National Museum on Acropolis. In 1842, when Otto visited Mykonos, the Elders of Mykonos gave Queen Amalia “a pair of gold earrings representing lions’ heads” that had been found in an “excavation” on Rheneia, and she accepted them “with great pleasure”.¹⁷ For centuries, the marble from the ancient monuments was reduced to lime, or transported by cargoes to the surrounding islands to be used as construction material. A great part of the Church of the Panagia on Tinos was built with Delian marble, while statues, inscriptions and architectural members can still be found built into the walls of many Mykonian houses, as well as houses on Syros, Tinos, Mikos, Thera, Kephynisi, Paros and other places, since:

"Many *Delian* slaves were abducted from *Delos* in the past, during the years before the Antiquity School was established on the island, by various island sailing boats, which would move off the island and use these slaves as handy ballast which – when the ballast was no longer needed – would be tossed off as waste on different coasts of neighbouring islands."¹⁶

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The documents quoted below describe the prevailing situation:

1. "To the most honored gentlemen elders and notables of the island of Mykonos, we salute you with brotherly kisses, Pnaia, 21 December 1828

It has been confirmed by some of your countrymen that opposing your petition *Delos*, there are columns of old buildings, and we would ask you please, since we have need of these, if we can have permission from your houses to cut a couple and come to take ten to fifteen of them, which we want to use in the building and docks for our port, and in recognition of this favour, we remain always in your debt, and in anticipation of your most honorable response:

We embrace you, and are always
Lovers and friends from [the island of] *Naxos*!"¹⁷

2. "To the and notables of the island of *Tinos*, we pay our brotherly respects and embrace your children:

Investigating matters of our brother islanders, namely that we are greatly surprised to see the disorder and abnormality that have been committed by your countrymen against us for almost five years, with great effect and disturbance to our people. Because supplies from your land go to *Delos* and take sheep, stone, columns, wood and anything else they need, at a time when we too are short and have great need of everything that can be found on our island *Delos*. On this matter we have been patient for so long as neighbours and friends. And we have not bothered you with this even though we have often been informed of such events. But now we have learned that you sent the ship of your port to *Delos* and took away two columns.

Our people are not pleased about the columns' removal without their permission and without the permission of the notables or notification that this was to happen. And we ask you please to respond right fast, so that no displeasure follows in the meantime with all our brotherly love. We pay our respects:

1828: April: 21: Mykonos
the community elders of Mykonos
your brothers of your nobleness!"¹⁸

3. "Can the stone masons of *Tinos* and *Mykonos* deny that for a long time, even up to the present day, they have been plying their trade by ransoming the most famous ancient works on *Delos* and *Rheneia*? and haven't we seen them ourselves (not many years ago) converting the altars of *Artemis* and of *Apollo*, their columns, even their statues, to material for producing coffee, to gloveskives with hammers for the timbers of *Aghios* in *Constantinople*? On the countless small parts of the most beautiful marbles on earth, which today cover the entire holy precinct, not bear witness to the fact that this barbarous and terrible labour has been taking place there unhindered for centuries?"

Athens, December 1829

E. CH. S. PHTONAKIS"¹⁹

In 1831, Frédéric Thiérsch proposed that *Blumenia* be installed, that the islanders uniting the two parts of the island be cut, that the naval command of eastern Greece be installed there, and that *Delos* become a trading colony: "intended to offset the significance of its entrapment [islands] and to ensure commerce the opportunity and the means to enjoy such development as is promised by the future of *Greece*."²⁰

On 10 February 1844, Georgios Geypatas and M. Solomou, elected representatives of *Mykonos* at the "National Assembly of the Hellenes in Athens on third September 1843" submitted to the National Assembly a "Memorandum about the uninhabited islands belonging to *Mykonos*":

"The neighbouring uninhabited islands of *Delos* and *Rheneia*, to which farmers and others would go and sow crops every year, graze their flocks and cut wood unhindered as from common property, have belonged for centuries to the Community of my homeland *Mykonos*. In this regard about two centuries ago, that is in the year 1688, in order to avoid disputes arising from claims by one against the other, the



The ancient stone well used for many centuries as a quarry for construction materials. In the photograph, an ancient cistern carved as a basin for the fountain built in 1910 by Mykonians from Jdela cave. The lenses and its heads are finely visible.

Mykonians divided the land into four lots (karteries) and setting boundaries determined which one of the lot holders, along with his people, could draw up instruments of ownership in each region of the lands he acquired by this lot. The relevant document signed by the clergy and elders of Mykonos bears the date 15 November 1686 and exists in the Government archives.

"The rights to the aforementioned uninhabited islands of the community of the Mykonians have always been recognised and respected not only by the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, but also by the various administrations under Polish rule at different times and after that up to 1881 at which time the general tax inspectors appointed to the Cyclades to visit foreign, as they say, reported to the Government that Delos and Rhenea supposedly belong to the state, and that they were regarded as such immediately, and the farmers who were thus subject to the heavy tax of 20% ceased to grow crops there. Since then every time the community of Mykonos addressed the Government, either in writing or by sending a representative, regarding the uninhabited islands lawfully claimed by it, reaching justice, they received this blunt reply "The courts are open". This situation persisted until the year 1883, when I was elected by my fellow citizens, together with Mr. M. Solomon, as representatives to the National Assembly of the Hellenes of third September in Athens, and I regard it as my duty, apart from the general issue, to contribute in particular to what concerns my birthplace on two points, 1) that the ownership of Delos and Rhenea by the municipality of Mykonos be recognised in order to stop the heavy tax of 20%, 2) To regard as its parish church that of the Monastery of Trossos.

"Regarding the first point, i.e. the two uninhabited islands, I have performed my duty through the report I submitted together with my colleague Mr. M. Solomon, on 10 February 1884 to the National Assembly, an excerpt from which is as follows:

"The uninhabited islands of Delos and Rhenea, 4-5 miles off the coast of Mykonos, bring to Mykonos by right of previous occupation and acquisitive prescription, but it was fated, despite these strong and irrefragable proofs which we submit in writing to the National Assembly, for them to be perceived as belonging to the state.

In Athens 10 February 1884

The representatives of Mykonos

G. Papavasiliou, M. Solomon

"As a consequence of this report a committee was appointed by the Government comprising Messrs G. Proklos, M. Benetos and M. Pellas, which in its report of 8 April 1884 ruled that the claims of the Mykonians are lawful and can be argued successfully before the Courts, and Decree No. 341 was issued to this effect on the 12th day of this month and year, by which upon the proposal of the then Minister of Finance Mr. A. Mavrokordatos, the said islands were recognised as belonging to the Municipality of Mykonos and thus since then, the heavy tax collected of 20 percent on national land ceased to be levied."¹⁰

The two islands, with the exception of the excavated Archaeological Site, were divided into "lots" which are rented to Mykonian farmers and livestock farmers to this day. In 1928, the revenues from the rental of these fields amounted to 200,000 drachmas. Relying on these revenues, the Community of Mykonos then mortgaged Delos and Rhenea for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund, which financed the works required to bring electric power to Mykonos (Delos was not electrified until 1986). In 1983, it is reported that "barley, melons and potatoes flourish and are planted on Delos, and some thousand sheep graze on its plants."¹¹ Retired guardians still remember with nostalgia the melons they used to grow in the Agora of the Italians.

Digging, earth removal and excavations

The first excavation was conducted on Delos in 1772 by Giesch van Rietzen, a Dutch-Prussian officer of the Russian occupation army; his findings ended up in St Petersburg and Bucharest, together with other pieces of ancient marble.¹⁷ In 1829 an Italian requested permission to excavate on Delos, but changed his mind after visiting the island, in the conviction that he would find nothing worthwhile.¹⁸ In the same year, the members of the French *Expédition Scientifique de Morée* dug a few test trenches in some buildings near the sea.¹⁹

Systematic excavations began in March of 1873 by J. Labèque, member of the French Archaeological School at Athens, and Panagiotis Stamatakis, employee of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education. On 8 August 1873, Panagiotis Stamatakis, with the required protocol, handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos, Lavrentios Lazaros and D. Rambanti "the antiquities discovered and collected from the various sites of the excavation at Delos, at the expense of the Ministry and with the supervision of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and presented at the City Hall building."²⁰

Excavations by the French Archaeological School at Athens continued, under the supervision of a Ministry employee who was frequently the school principal of Mykonos, or some temporary employee, or with no supervision at all, a fact that at times worried the Mayor of Mykonos: "...since the excavations have been taking place (for almost) a month with no supervision, I judge that [a supervisor] is essential both in the interest of the Municipality, which I am called upon by the Law and by vote of my fellow citizens to defend, but also in the interest of the entire nation, relics of whose ancestral heritage may be taken away."²¹

View of Delos in 1898. *Ellaspseftirata*, Athens, no. 11.





The French school celebrates Bastille Day on Delos. The School's building above the Hippodrome. Flag is hoisted, and flags are 14 July 1902. Below one can see the sea, for the wagons that dump the earth into the Sacred Hut.

The French School limited its excavations during the period between 1892-1903 in order to concentrate on the excavation of Delphi; work at Delos was then resumed intensively from 1904 to 1914 (*Grandes Fouilles*) thanks to a generous subsidy given to the School (50,000 gold francs per year up to 1913) by the Duc de Loubat, who never visited Delos.

During this period, the entire Sanctuary and the greater part of the ancient city were uncovered. Large numbers of workers from Mykonos were employed on the excavations, who dug "only" 45 mm down to sunset, so as to "facilitate supervision".¹² They were all housed together in a large warehouse near the Agora of Theophrastos. The harsh working conditions were the cause of the first strike on Mykonos, in June of 1903, about which a question was even asked in Parliament.¹³ The men working on the excavations assembled in the Mykonos harbour and prevented embarkation for Delos "putting forward claims for higher wages, shorter working hours and better accommodations for the workers." The strike ended with the "agitators being expelled"; but "by government order, those who provoked the strike were acquitted."¹⁴

The debris from the excavations was taken away in wagons that moved on rails and then dumped into the Sacred Hut, which was thus totally filled in. But it appears that owing to the large number of workers, the excavations in both Delphi and Delos were not always conducted in the best possible way, for which blame was laid on the government, the General Ephor of Antiquities Panagiotis Kavvadias,¹⁵ who appeared to have few friends. Théophile Homolle, Director of the French School (1890-1903) and H. Coquerel, "an ordinary French sergeant major," who "carries out the excavations unhindered and unsupervised, guided of course by his great archaeological knowledge... the French School student M. Coquerel does not supervise the excavations constantly, but only periodically turns up for work, and Mr Homolle, the director of the French School, goes to Delphi every two or three months, where he remains for a few days. About 150-200 people are working in Delphi over a large area, excavating in many places at the same time. But there is no Greek archaeologist or ephor supervising them."¹⁶ On 14 August 1893 a letter was published in an Athenian newspaper by a man who was "well informed about events and what is happening in the archaeological excavations,"¹⁷ which blames the government for the destruction of Delphi and for bowing down to the foreigners because "in the past year it replaced the supervisor of the excavations at Delphi [Demetrios Stavrakopoulos] upon the demand of the French ambassador. The man has the audacity to supervise, that is to perform his duty, and he is not supposed to care at all about the excavations or protecting the public interest, but should become an ordinary servant to the foreigners directing the excavations." It concluded:

"My indignation however, was raised and not surprise at Mr Homolle's insolent threat regarding the excavations at Delphi. He naively believes, it would appear, that the French Republic by conducting archaeological excavations in Greece, as it does, is doing us a favour and now threatens to deprive us of the benefits of these excavations. He is however right to talk in that way, and the Greek government gives him



View of the "excavation" in the Theatre Quarter, below the House of Cleopatra IV, Athens, April 1903.

this right, by showing unfeignable liberality in the granting of permits and excavations to the descendants of Michel Thomassod. Perhaps I may be criticised for accusing an entire nation because of one man. But the situation in the excavations on Delos, if nothing else, proves that the French School here has shown itself at least worthy of his [Thomassod's] utter destructive power. The person going to study the precious treasures on the most sacred island must truly be armed with the insensibility of the excavators to these objects to be capable of walking through the entire area of the excavations. Otherwise, the acute pain caused by their shameful state and indignation against those who caused it may force him to depart as soon as possible from Delos."

The unfortunate manner with which the excavations were conducted received scathing comment in the Athenian press:

"Regrettably the French have not followed such rules in their work. Merely learning not only science and scholarship but also, we must point out, the Greek nation as well, by a quasi-archaeological theatrical exhibition. They assigned the excavations in Delphi solely to students of their Archaeological School at Athens, who because of their youth and inexperience, were unequal to the great task of the excavations at Delphi. Hardly does the director Mr. Bernolle travel there; and the student Casse, even were he a distinguished archaeologist and made a superhuman effort, would not be sufficient to undertake this task, which

to unfortunately neglects systematically, abandoning it to the moral and wisdom of Mr. Comart, a man indifferent to the science of archaeology and the scholarly character of excavations, a former sergeant major unless we are mistaken. With all this, Mr. Homolle and the students of the French Archaeological School, apparently regarding the work at Delphi to be unimportant and undeserving of their attention, are simultaneously attempting to be assigned other excavations, at Delos and Mantineia;¹⁰ namely, as we believe, for scholarly instruction, and scandalously, they do not consent to a Greek ephebe as supervisor.¹¹

Another article in the same newspaper ends with the conclusion that: "It is perhaps a type of punishment devised by the descendants of the Gauls to be imposed upon the descendants of the Greeks."¹²

By the early decades of the 20th century, the Sanctuaries had already been unearthed as had part of the ancient city, most of which fortunately still lies under a protective layer of some two meters of soil. The Hellenic Archaeological Service and the French Archaeological School continue to conduct excavations to this day, but on a much smaller scale, since the main concern of the Hellenic Archaeological Service is to protect, conserve and make accessible the monuments that have already been excavated, a task that requires enormous outlays, while the primary aim of the French School is to study the monuments and publish the findings that are still unpublished, even though the site was excavated more than a century ago. But the section that has already been excavated, perhaps the most extensive archaeological site in the world, gives the visitor a clear and unique picture of the Sanctuary and of the ancient city.



Despite the fact that the excavations began in 1828, a very large part of the ancient city still lies under a protective layer of soil. To the left another statue of Apollon revealed by the rain (March 2003) and to the right, the excavation of a porphyry digné¹³ overlooking from the East towards the Pnyx (August 2003).

The findings and their fate

The movable findings

From the excavations at Delos, primarily fragments of sculptures and inscriptions, were "transported to nearby Mykonos, consigned to the existing collection of Delian antiquities there, handed over by each officer supervising the excavations to either the mayor or school principal who was assigned the duty of curator of the collection, on the basis of a protocol drawn up in duplicate, one copy of which was submitted to the concerned Ministry, and the other was kept by the curator of the collection, to be used instead of a catalogue."¹⁰

The most noteworthy sculptures were taken to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens,¹¹ a practice which continued on various protests even after the Delos Museum was built. In 1914, D. Staisopoulos protests caustically but in vain about the removal of the bronze head that had been found in the *Cranio Eleastron*:¹²

"...I am not trying to dispute the correctness of the principle that the State should collect all the most noteworthy findings in the country in one museum, a principle which if it were generally observed would have relieved the Acropolis of Athens of the museum on it, a principle which although not observed in Olympia, Delphi, Epigonal, has deprived Delos of all noteworthy findings until recently on the pretext of the lack of a museum, even now that a museum has been built, a hotel that became a law just for Delos."

"But may I be permitted to dispute the first article of the relevant royal decree which may be used to justify the transfer of the exceptionally important head, which is certainly of value in the Delos museum, otherwise in Athens it would be downgraded to a mere decoration."

"But are findings discovered merely to decorate a museum and for purposes of exhibition, or in order to enrich the study and promotion of scholarship? Any arguments in this regard addressed to the members of the Archaeological Council would constitute disrespect towards the Council and of me. Therefore for the benefit of scholarship I would request that the head in question at least remain in Delos. I do not consider it right that the old mistake of removing heads and incomplete statues from Delos be repeated. The armatures of the temple of the Athenians which have been returned to Delos have been considered whole; and most likely the votive offerings of Menelaos, the Nike, the Stachyuros and the Gal would not have remained incomplete had they not been dislodged from their site, unless they have returned to it, especially if the French School that found them had assigned a particular scholar to make a systematic effort to match the multitude of fragments in the museum and not to wait for this to be done by the Hellenic Service which has so much else to do."

On 28 July 1914, Staisopoulos was forced to carry the bronze head in question to the National Museum and deliver it personally and five months later, on 17 December 1914, he was also obliged to hand over the sculptural group of Aphrodite with Eros and Pan that had been found in 1904. In the transport order¹³ the Ministry promised that "in its place, a plaster cast will in time be erected". This never happened.

In the protocol of 20 December 1880, by which the findings of the year were handed over to the Mayor of Mykonos, mention was made for the first time of the "Delian Museum on Mykonos". In later protocols, reference is made to the "Museum in the Kampans House", the "Museum in the Krokos House" (1881) or the "Collection in the Kompanis House" (1882). All these buildings were ordinary Mykonian houses leased by the Ministry and the Archaeological Society as storage space. In 1891, a campaign conducted among "Mykonians everywhere"¹⁴ raised funds for the purchase of a lot on which the Archaeological Museum of Mykonos¹⁵ was built in 1899-1902 at the expense of the Ministry and the Archaeological Society. The con-

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struction of the Museum was not without its adventures and, despite the endless protests of Demetrios Stavrignoullos, Epithor of Antiquities for Delos and Mykonos, the building was so shoddily constructed and insecure that it wasn't until 1908, after extensive repairs, that antiquities were moved there. In the meantime, the thousands of findings unearthed by Stavrignoullos in the "Harlikation 19" were added to the antiquities stored in the two Mykianian houses. To store all these finds, another two buildings were rented on Mykonos, the house of Anna Bonazounts and the stemonium of Georgios Greggoulis, the rent in both cases being paid by the Archaeological Society. It was obvious that the little Archaeological Museum of Mykonos was never going to be able to house all these findings, in addition to those that were being unearthed on Delos annually. Thus in 1908 (?) it was decided to build a larger Museum on Delos to store and exhibit the Delian findings.



*Found antiquities in
the National Archaeological
Museum, c. 1908.
In the foreground,
Apollonios 19th Dec.
near the Establishment
of the Provisional
to the right is the Apollo
from the House of
the Chalcidians and
below him is the God
from the Apollo of
the House.*

History of the Museum building

It is not known how and by whom the decision was made to build a museum on Delos and how the particular site was selected. The oldest document we have on the subject is a telegram from the General Ephor of Antiquities, P. Kavvadias to D. Stavrakopoulos dated 11 May 1981:¹⁰

"Decision made to construct Museum on Delos using journeyman. Telegraph immediately whether lime available and purchase same and if necessary, bring builders and artisans there."

Apparently the decision to build a museum on Delos was known to Stavrakopoulos since his reply expresses no surprise:¹¹

"There is no lime here but the possibility of producing sufficient quantities in time. Can supply from Syros for two and 50 per quintal delivered to Delos. Am expecting a better offer. We also need thermal mats (pneumats). Builders and carpenters available here. Necessary to send special supervisor or master craftsman from there."

"Awaiting approval for necessary immediate hiring of excavation supervisor."

The General Ephor of Antiquities, Panagiotis Kavvadias was simultaneously President of the Archaeological Society, which may explain the following document:

"THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
DECIDES THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MUSEUM UNDER THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

In Athens, 15 May 1981

Chief, Excavations
Delos

To the
Ephor Mr D. Stavrakopoulos

"We announce to you that by decision of the Council, we have been assigned to manage the construction of the Archaeological Museum to be erected by the Society on Delos under the directorship of French Engineer M. Cornet. Head workman (Deltiarchis Kampouras) has been appointed foreman. One wing of the museum is to be constructed for the present, as noted in the two drawings attached herewith. You are requested to see quickly to the purchase and preparation of lime, having first informed us not only of the price at which you can supply the lime, but also whether it will be necessary for us to send workers from here and if so how many."

The Vice-President
D. TEPANAGIOTIS

None of the above documents refer to stone, since it was considered self-evident that stone would be used from the ancient ruins, as had been done in the past with buildings erected to house the French Schacht members.

The choice of co-workers for Stavrakopoulos was unfortunate, and may perhaps have been due to Kavvadias' dislike of him.

Henri Convert,¹⁰ an engineer specialising in bridges and railway lines had collaborated in the past with the Ministry of Public Works. He had been employed by the French School since 1890 and, as noted above, had taken part in the excavations at Delphi. It is very likely that he was the main reason Stavropoulos left Delphi. The newspapers of the period reported that he was: "an ordinary French noncommissioned officer, with a rough tongue and behaviour, to say nothing harsher, and in Delphi he was a professional trader in illicit antiquities, buying ruins, because of which he was tried in the courts, as I learned, in Amphissa... Mr. Tsountas hearing the German archaeologist Kuntzeberger deploring the way in which the excavations were conducted in Delphi, and manifestly indignant on behalf of the unjustly treated science of archaeology, replied that this was not all that was happening, and that M. Convert was only interested in collecting ancient coins from the excavations."¹¹

Haralambos Kygnides, Convert's collaborator in Delphi, was described as a "malicious worker, supposedly an interpreter for the French. He, together with the Frenchman Convert, former sergeant major sent here by General Vassiliotis, are squandering public (French) moneys, taking advantage of the ignorance of the members of the French School in these matters. They "paid" wages for which no one ever worked, and in fact Kygnides even coerced the workers into eating at the grocery shop belonging to Tsountas, who explicitly promised great profits that they would share... the payrolls for the workers' wages were written in pencil and in small letters, while the worker signed in ink."¹²

The aged foreman Eleftherios Kamparis "who had been working for forty years for the Society with exemplary zeal and honesty and was until recently working most actively in Itegalia..."¹³ was unfit and became ill twice on Delos. Stavropoulos wrote about him, defending himself to the Ministry against inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School: "Knowing him well and respecting his long years of honest service for the company, I put up with his inadequacy and, as much as possible, I personally filled in many hours every day for him, sometimes spending the entire day supervising the works on the museum."¹⁴

The Museums of Mykonos and Delos exist solely because of Demetrios Spyridon Stavropoulos, his integrity and his tireless efforts. His father Spyridon Stavropoulos (1844-1883),¹⁵ a teacher, fought as a volunteer in the 1868 uprising in Crete and his mother Sophia Vlachodimitri (1838-1917) was from a family of fighters in the War of Independence in 1821, also a teacher, and principal of the secondary school in Piraeus. Demetrios, their only child, was born in Piraeus on 20 May 1872 and died in Mykonos on 30 November 1918. At the age of 18 years old he completed his studies at the University of Athens with *summa cum laude*, and on 10 June 1894 at the age of 22 years old, was awarded the degree of honorary Doctor of Philology. He entered the Archaeological Service in 1892 and worked at Delphi, Eretria, Athens, Olympia, Sparta and Midea. In 1892 he was appointed supervisor of the excavations in Delphi conducted by the French School at Athens, a painful experience for the newly appointed twenty-year-old:

"We cannot understand what is happening in Delphi. The supervisor there was Mr. Dem. Stavropoulos, a distinguished scholar who performed his duty meticulously, but he was unable to stay there for long, owing to disputes with the people carrying out the excavations. Later, the Ephor Mr. Kastromenos or Kastriotis was sent to Delphi in his place, a decent, forbearing man, most lenient in his behaviour, doing his duty mildly. But neither did Kastriotis manage to remain in Delphi for long, owing to his disagreements with those conducting the excavations, who made his life in Delphi unbearable. The ephor Mr. Kastromenos was recalled by the Ministry of Public Education, because their aim was to remove all occasion for contention and scandalous disagreements, and to make themselves pleasing to those conducting the excavations in Delphi."¹⁶

"Thus the young Stavropoulos was appointed when, in the conduct of his duty, suffered so many humiliations, complaints and ill will as the performance of his duty by the subordinate French employees who were conducting the excavations. But he almost reached the point of despair and the intensity hastened to recall him, having given in to the intolerable appetites of the greediness of the French School. Mr. Kastromenos was subsequently sent as ephor, who because of his mild character was able to put up with a great deal and demonstrated the patience of Job, as Mr. Kavvadias desired, in eliminating displeasing or disturbing variations. But even Mr. Kastromenos, humiliated, coerced and unable to do his duty there, was pushed so far that he turned into a storm in order as much as possible to defend the rights of his government against the French antiquarians and to protect the treasures in Delphi which were endangered in many ways."¹⁷



The signets used by Theodoros Stavropoulos and later by Theodoros Pappas. Its leather case and glass pieces are kept in the Museum. On the wooden part of the signets details are revealed in small type: known-symbols (signets) from the past or from the future (signets).
Carved on the last cylinder are the words: *Alas, N. 1872/20*
on plate: *Alas! (Stavropoulos, P), Pappas (P)*

The. Sp. Stavropoulos (1872-1911), the first Governor of Delos and later the first Eparch of the Cyclades, was well liked and respected in Mykonos, despite the fact that his behaviour sometimes shocked the Mykonians: his body weak - however help us - at the moment when I find it such an interesting - your I mention. On land - most and perhaps have not been chosen this without your much smiling - something and to the heart (to be revised) here the heart of the spirit!¹²⁰
The photograph shows Stavropoulos on the left (1911 May 18th) by married Eleni, daughter of Eleni Katsaris, from Mykonos.

Meanwhile Stavropoulos had chosen to "consign his hardships in Delphi to oblivion", although he was obliged to reply to Georgios Sotiadiis, candidate professor of history at the University and champion of the French School, in a series of articles published in the newspaper *Idris*,¹²¹ to whom he proposed: "When you are seen sacked by the government, throwing off your assumed lion's skin, since you assure us that you have a good knowledge of the German language - which no one denies you - I would recommend to you the position of doorman at the Acropolis. Do not think that Mr Kastriotis bears a grudge."¹²²

Georgios Sotiadiis did not become a doorman, but rather Eparch of the Acropolis and university professor; his enmity lasted for years. In 1911, in cooperation with M. Hollaux, Director of the French School, he endeavoured to be assigned supervision of the French excavations on Delos and the construction of the Delos Museum. On 3 May 1911, in a registered letter to Mr. V. Leonardos, Section Head of Antiquities, Stavropoulos wrote:

"I hope dear friend, that this long telegram of mine today will thwart the attempt by the vulgar Segniadis, and that I will not be obliged to reveal officially the reasons for which, desiring the position in Delos, he slandered me to Hollaux, who without realising it, became his tool and perhaps the tool of an eminent trader in illegal antiquities (Convent), an old and close friend of the French School, who cannot bear to see me in Delos, and even though there exists in Delos an excellent salaried number (=Demosfilios Pappas) and even Eparch of the Cyclades-based near Delos, he [Hollaux] nevertheless expressed his desire for the Eparch of the Acropolis to be sent here to supervise the excavations. But Mr Hollaux must understand that the time has passed when his high desires due to medals and medals will be executed without being examined. He should, I believe, report officially the reasons for which he rejects supervision by the manner of Delos and myself, and if upon investigation these reasons can be proved to be real and substantiated, then again it would be proper for persons to be replaced but not the inappropriate interference by demands. There are husbands who tolerate the interference of third parties, but I am not one of them.



In my view, the divorce should come after a due hearing. Otherwise, none to him who rushes in as third party! But I am convinced that your caution and brotherly love will spare me the struggle that I have avoided so far, because I am not a manaster."

Stavropoulos went to Mykenos for the first time in November of 1893 with a expense budget of 50 drachmas and instructions to gather the scattered antiquities of Delos in the "House of Lavrentios-Kampanis" and to hand over "the antiquities constituting the archaeological collection in Mykenos to its curator, the Mykenos School Principal Nikolaos Maroudakis."

In 1895, he was assigned to supervise the French excavations in Delos and in 1895, following a competition, he was appointed Ephor of Antiquities in Olympia, where he remained until 1897, at which time he was replaced by Constantinos Ioannoudis. He returned to Mykenos finally in 1897, initially as Ephor of Mykenos and Delos and, as of 21 March 1913, first Ephor of the Cyclades. A year earlier, on 19 May 1896, he married Klerne, daughter of Ioannis Katsilivas, with whom he had seven children, one approximately every two years: Elenos (21 January 1898), Sappho (30 December 1900), Ios (7 August 1902), Phoebe (12 July 1904), Nikias (8 April 1905), Petros (16 February 1908) and Leda (4 July 1910). Melpo Axenti has given us a wonderful description of Stavropoulos starting out for Delos:

"Right that moment a giant of a man, tall and stout, burst into the harbor from a narrow lane, walking with two little girls. They were holding his armrest, a black walking stick and an ash-grey umbrella. They went up to the wharf that was getting ready to cast off, the stout gentleman got in, the cargo operators looked after him and made sure he didn't slip, the children handed his things over to be put into the cargo, he sat in a chair set up on the deck over the timberwork, and then the gentleman seeing the girls standing on the jetty opposite, raised his cane and started waving. 'Sappho and Leda'."

"The gentleman is the squire and they are his children – Sappho and Iphigeneia welcomed the porter without anyone asking him. You see, the gentleman squire is involved with the mares and fiddles about in museums and they say that his family has been around here way back, which is why his children have been baptised with ancient names so as to preserve the line, without counting the girls. There are Euphrosyne, Iphigeneia, Nikas, and Panselous, and people who don't shed tears like this!"⁷⁰

The plan, the initial design for the Museum of Delos was similar to that of the Museum of Mykonos, but much larger. To ensure its halls plenty of light, it was in the shape of a horizontal + with arms of equal length joined together down a central axis. The style of the buildings was perfectly simple, without the neo-classical features of the Mykonos Museum. The initial designs were drawn up by Coqueret and amended along the way by Stavropoulos. Perhaps because of the painful previous experience with the building of the Mykonos Museum, the decision was made to build the Delos Museum with wage-labour and not by contract. But the building of the Delos Museum, as had been the case with the Mykonos Museum, was for many years a permanent source of despair, indignation, disillusionment and bitterness for Dimitrios Stavropoulos. His legendary honesty and the integrity of his character brought him into almost constant conflict with the man responsible for the works. To add to his woes, in addition to the distrust of Athens, he had to deal with the Mayor of Mykonos, Theodoros Gryparis, who dispatched a telegram to the Prefect containing charges that municipal land was being encroached upon:

"Representative of Archaeological Society in Delos has occupied municipal land beyond site of archaeological excavations without repaying us, to lay Museum foundations and threatening to occupy an additional area of three gables of the island's most fertile land. Please take action to prevent illegal deeds in above-mentioned representative, protecting the interests of our municipality which is obliged to pay compensation to tenants because of this occupation and will be harmed by the loss of rental in future."⁷¹

Stavropoulos, replying to a telegram from the Prefect, clarified that:

"Delos Museum is being constructed on archaeological site. For its foundation unfortunately ancient walls are being dug up, but not beyond the site boundaries. No occupation, no threat of occupying municipal land has occurred. I am sending report from Delos."⁷²

Thus, in order to construct the Museum of Delos without diminishing the pasturelands and revenues of the Municipality of Mykonos, a quarter of the ancient city with wealthy residences was destroyed, as was ascertained in 1991 when the trench was dug for the electrical wiring.

Stavropoulos's wife Eirene, who was of course living on Mykonos with their three young children (0, 4 and 2 years old), was in the ninth month of pregnancy (Ephraïmos was born on 2 July). Stavropoulos in Delos had to supervise the "major excavations" (*Grande Fossée*) by the French School and the works entailed in digging the foundations for the Museum in order to save whatever he could, while at the same time trying to organise the purchase and transport of materials and to fill in for the aged foreman Kampanis. Apart from all this, he was frequently obliged to write long reports to the Ministry or to the Archaeological Society to explain self-evident things, or to reply to the inaccurate information supplied by the Director of the French School and the French engineer H. Coqueret to the Ministry and the Society. It is hardly surprising that the man died of cancer at the age of just 47.

Despite his frequent telegrams, the necessary construction materials were not sent on time, or the wrong or useless materials were sent and had to be returned. Not even the plans or the money arrived on time with the result that he had to borrow money from friends so as not to interrupt the works: "I am constantly upset by the lack of money and by the meagre deposit of 2000 drachmas sent to me by the Society, the failure to send promptly the quantities on the lists, and the necessary mass supply of materials transported from a distance, and this shortfall has been supplemented up to now by me paying often from my own pocket and twice borrowing money from my friends in Mykonos."⁷³ In any event, from 31 May 1904, when the digging of the foundations began, to 20 November 1904 when the works were suspended, a total of 15,259.05 drachmas had been spent on wages and materials.

After Stavropoulos's persistent reports, the works were resumed in June of 1906. In September the construction of the south wing was completed, i.e. halls I, IV and X, and in October of the same year, the Pelian

findings began being brought over from Mykonos. At the same time the statues began being placed on constructed benches and the findings started being recorded in the official catalogues of the Delos Museum. But by 1907, the Museum was already "cramped full, making it difficult to do any work in it, and if the excavations continue, adding new finds every day, we will be brought to a state of true bewilderment."¹⁰

The necessary completion of the Museum's initial design, i.e. the construction of the north wing (halls VII, VIII), began in 1909 and was completed in 1913. The financial management was initially assigned to the *zoster* Demosthenes Lorkes and later (on 24 August 1909) to Demosthenes Pappas,¹¹ Curator of Antiquities on Delos from 1909 and second Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades from 1926 to 1933, when he died. The supervision of the works was initially assigned to H. Convert, in whom Convert was absent to Joseph Replat,¹² distinguished French architect, and then to Anastasios Orlandos. Pappas, like Stavrakopoulos, was a particularly methodical and systematic man and thus his files contain a full picture of the works carried out. Stavrakopoulos's briefing of his new assistant must have been methodical, assiduous and constant, and Pappas held him in high esteem until his death. Pappas's notes about the workers are interesting, and were perhaps dictated by Stavrakopoulos:

Carpenters:

1) Michalis Spantolou (Mykonian) best, dishonest (without suppression), technically most expert, almost immoral. Wages 6 drs.

2) Anis, Alafasos (Mykonian). Mediocre, lazy, stupid, requires absolute supervision. Wages never more than 5 drachmas.

Builders:

1) Marios Lykouts (Mykonian) the best of the Mykonians, most honest, but inexperienced in work on Delos, rather slow but by nature, does not require supervision. Wages 6 drs.

2) Rafis Lykouts (Mykonian) Generally a mediocre craftsman, but experienced in work on Delos. Very cunning, capable of winning over and flattering superiors. Supervisable and not. Wages 6 drs.

Masons:

1) Eleutherios Parakevas (Tinos + Athens) Capable of fine workmanship. Needs some supervision. Most experienced in work on Delos. Unpleasant and dishonest. Wages 6 drs.

In 1909 a total of 19,500.20 drachmas was spent to build the two north halls, the northeast staircase, the wooden storage area in front of the Museum and a wood storage shed south of the Museum. In 1913 some deficiencies were made up, part of the Museum floor was tiled and the north quadrangle was built, which became the house of the Curator.

The Museum very rapidly proved to be inadequate. The situation is described by Demosthenes Pappas in a report written by him, but read by his friend Michael Kampanis at a municipal meeting of Mykonians on 8 September 1919.¹³ A large part of it is quoted here, not only because it condenses the history of the Museum up to that time, but also because of the elegance of his language:

"The people of Mykonos, gathered together today, on 8th September 1919, at the invitation of our fellow citizen Michael L. Kampanis, to a citywide assembly and meeting in the halls of the municipal mansion of the community of Mykonos, first heard a detailed report by the aforementioned who said the following:

"The precious archaeological findings from the excavations on neighbouring Delos, for which very large numbers of people come unceasingly from all over the civilised world, motivated by the desire to study, see and admire, would first come to our homeland Mykonos, to the great honour and moral and material benefit of our island. Therefore, since, thirty years ago a small Museum was constructed on our island, so that these findings could be worthily exhibited.

"But not long afterwards, owing to the very great extent of the excavations on Delos and of the consequent great increase of the findings therefrom, the Museum established in Mykonos was deemed insufficient and, as a more advantageous solution, a decision was made for the Museum on Mykonos to be used solely for the archaeological findings from Mykonos and neighbouring Rheneia, and to establish another museum on Delos itself, for the Delian antiquities based on a design that would be satisfactorily large and adequate for the future.

"And even though a small section of this museum was built twenty-two years ago in Delos, since then no addition has been made to it and it has thus remained without the necessary supplementation and organisation. And being therefore completely inadequate for the exhibition of the total of antiquities in the museum, some of them had to be selectively transferred to Athens, or with few exceptions, have been packed in crates, invisible to visitors, in this museum (Delos) which for this reason has necessarily taken on the appearance of a warehouse of antiquities rather than that of a well organised museum, worthy of the treasures it houses.

"And this has happened because in the meantime, the opinion of the persons responsible changed repeatedly, as time went by, to pursue an unstable the initial action of establishing the museum for the Delian antiquities on Delos, because on this undisturbed site, the museum could not be protected with the required security, nor was it accessible and easy for scholars and the public to visit nor offered the proper amenities, nor has the conservation and constant maintenance of the museum been possible through the permanent residence on the island of an archaeological and other relevant staff of technicians and guards as required.

"For these reasons, although a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the decision to establish the museum, absolutely no effort has been made to supplement and complete it, which is why this small section that was built has now begun to deteriorate owing to the ravages of time, and already requires major repairs and corrective institutions.

"Things were thus, until a few days ago, when the Vice-President of the government finally visited Delos with the Director of the Archaeological Service and members of the Independent Trustees Organisation, to examine the needs of this museum and other necessary and urgent services for this most important archaeological site of Delos. And regarding the other necessary facilities on Delos, excellent decisions were immediately taken and promises were given that a beginning would soon be made on completing the works within months. And regarding the Museum of Delos, it was approved finally that the existing section of this museum on Delos will be left incomplete and will be used henceforward as a temporary place for storing inscriptions along and for all the other Delian antiquities, which require a healthy existence and permanent scholarly constant, to achieve these goals and to ensure its complete security and the easy access of visitors and the general satisfaction of all its other ongoing needs, to establish a large and decent museum worthy of its treasures as a well inhabited city for security reasons, on one of the immediately neighbouring islands, namely that island which appreciating the honour and benefit that will accrue to it from this museum, will agree to contribute a large portion of the expenditure required for the foundation of same; that is more precisely on Mykonos as an extension of the museum already existing on it, since the neighbouring capital of the Cyclades because of its status."

Then, having analysed in detail the reasons for which the Delos Museum should be on Mykonos:

"The people of Mykonos, appreciating their ancestral heritage and obligations to the island of Delos and its wonderful antiquities, grateful and begging for the honour and preference of establishing on Mykonos a large and permanent Delian Museum, recognising fully the sacrifices required from the inhabitants of the island in this regard, having lost and forgotten, within themselves and independent of all the above, the greatest affection and love and the utmost possible interest in the respected Delian antiquities as did their fathers before them... requests that the newly elected Community Councils of the two island Communities of Mykonos and Ano Mera... be pleased to vote and to honour this fact at this first joint meeting to cede the total annual revenues of the island of Delos (Mira) the annual amount of 280 thousand drachmas, from the end of the current fiscal year and for a ten-year period, to the Antiquity Service of the State, so that the latter will undertake to find the total income and ways, along with a corresponding state subsidy, to make it possible to establish in good time on Mykonos the appropriate large and proper Museum to which all the existing Delian antiquities will be transferred including all those from every where in the country, together with similar ones from Rhodus and Naxos, from all periods, and with a section of the Historic Archive of the Island of Mykonos."

Needless to say, the will of all the Mykonians was accepted by the Community Councils of Mykonos (23 September 1999) and Ano Mera (10 September 1999). It is obvious that the entire issue was raised by Demosthenes Pappas, who not only wrote the resolution read by his friend Michail Kampanis at the assem-

ity of Mykonos, but he also drafted the decisions of the Community Councils and the documents that accompanied these decisions when they were forwarded by the Communities to the Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades, i.e. to himself. Although the accompanying letters are dated 5 and 10 October, Pappas had drafted the telegram and report to the Ministry as early as 2 October, as well as private telegrams to Professor Constantinos Romainos, who was studying the findings from Rheneia, Th. Petrakopoulos, Chairman of Tourism and Mr Kainophylas, Prefect of the Cyclades and friend of his, requesting that they "contribute personally to the speedy acceptance" of this proposal and asking the latter two men to meet with Michail Skarpanis who obviously went to Syros and Athens for this purpose. Pappas, who was terrified of the idea that the Delian antiquities might possibly be moved to Syros, had no trouble convincing the Mykonians since Mykonos had started to become known and tourism was developing there, owing mainly to Delos.

It is not known why this proposal was rejected. Perhaps because as early as 1928, the Community of Mykonos had already "mortgaged Delos for a few years to the Deposits and Loans Fund as collateral for a loan floated in 1928 to finance the electrification of the island."¹²

In 1931, an appropriation of 1,000,000 drachmas was approved for the extension of the Museum of Delos, a project that was assigned to the contractor Ioannis Pappas. The works were overseen for a brief period by Makarios Ntinos, Curator of Antiquities for the Cyclades, who soon left Delos "due to fear of ghosts". From 20 August 1931 to April 1933, the works were supervised by Georgios Bakalakis, who was completing his literature degree. Pappas was already ill, so they communicated by letter, which Bakalakis would send him almost every day, and in which he reported on the works being done in great detail, and asked for advice.

Delos in October 1931

Informal Mt. Cemetery

"Yesterday I did not manage to be in Delos before 4 p.m. because, between Mykonos and the island of Rhos, Matthew's engine broke down. Athanas was off yesterday, and with sails in a great strong wind we were able to approach Pountelkoust around noon. Luckily Skarpanis's sail was holding, so I called him and he fetched us into Delos at around 1:00 p.m. in his rowboat. There were heavy waves and wind. The others came from Rheneia at about 5 p.m. in a little boat and none worse off than me... It seems to me that it wouldn't be good to build the shelter at the corner near the vestibule up to 2 m. because they'll be ugly, since the main door is 2.50 m. high and the other 2 m. and 2.50 m. up to the windows. If the first shell starts at 2 m. then at the corner of the door to the stonessum no shell will fit..."

For some unknown reason, even though their collaboration was excellent for many months, in March 1933, Pappas was so disenchanted with Bakalakis that he wrote a long report to the Ministry from Athens, where he was in hospital, asking that Bakalakis not be rehired because he no longer had any confidence in him:



Successive stages in the building of the Museum: 1931, 1933 construction by Georgios Bakalakis (1931-1933)

1931



*The Museum looks as about 1925. The sculptures in on pedestal
sculpture, on the left and on wooden pedestals, in the background is
one of a few wooden ones moved by the Museum. Photo right is
the main hall of the Jyväskylä sculpture (sculpture) is about 1920.
Opposite page: The hall of the Jyväskylä sculpture is about 1925.*



10.1



The Museum delle Arti



"...I was finally convinced by many other observations and indications that not only as an employee should he not enjoy any favour or confidence and appreciation, but in general as well, because although earlier I had favoured him unflinchingly and untruly without examining him, I have just now realised clearly that L. too, as others had been led astray credulously by the deceit with which in the beginning he was always very skilled at presenting himself.

"For all of these reasons, it is my duty to make known to the Honoured Ministry that if the mission performed by the aforementioned for me was not expiring in a few days, i.e. expiry in the present month of March this year, I would have been obliged unavoidably to take, as the only possible decision, that of sending him away from my eparchy, urgently and immediately, as he does not in the least obey me nor does he in any way inspire in me the necessary trust, on which most if not everything in the archaeological service is based, i.e. with respect to any relations whatsoever between the eparchy employees and antiquaries, permanent ones, and much more toward Karpouzy staff."

The works, which were completed in May 1933, changed the appearance of the Museum dramatically. In addition to the enlargement and the creation of two attics, the tile roof was replaced by a concrete slab, two porticos in front of the Museum were removed, a porch was added together with a *horm* above the main hall, and thus the Museum acquired a neoclassical form. In a contemporary newspaper, it is reported that "soon its sculptures will start being replaced in its halls in a more commodious way and their pristic merit will be shown to later advantage."¹⁰ But during the enlargement of the building, the disorderly and unsystematic moving of the antiquities that Bakalakis executed arbitrarily – provoking the rage of the methodical Pappas – and as particular the illness and later the untimely death of Pappas, who was the soul of the Museum, created such chaos that for decades nothing could be done but to search, identify and arrange the old findings, a task that was only recently completed.

In 1934, Christos Karamanos sent a report¹⁰⁷ to the Ministry about the terrible state of the Museum together with a request for funds, which he did not receive. He did the same in 1937, 1938, and 1939 with no substantial result. In his report of 1937, he spoke of the "deplorable state of the sculptures in particular, but also of the pottery in the Delos Museum, a state that was created as a result of the enlargement of this Museum six years ago" and requested 90,000 drachmas "so as to start putting the statues on bases and to begin fitting together at least the most important sculptures."¹⁰⁸ In 1939 he virtually begged for 40,000 drachmas, writing: "To this day, all the statues are still lying on the floor of the halls, either complete or in detached pieces, and the small findings (pottery, bronzes, etc.) are piled up in a few out-dated display cases. And thus in reality the Museum of Delos is unworthy of the name, discredits the name irretrievably in the eyes of its many visitors, officials and others, and arouses justified indignation from them and from scholars, because it is practically impossible to see or to study the objects. To put the Museum fully into order, a large expenditure will of course be required, but a start at least has to be made sometime. And for this purpose, a small amount is sufficient..."¹⁰⁹ The tragic condition of the findings was not the only problem Christos Karamanos had to deal with. In that same year, in another report, he described in desperation the dangers resulting from the lack of the necessary guardians: "Both earlier and more recently I lamented the deplorable condition of our Service on Delos to the Respected Ministry — and the dangers that I have addressed during the past year, through desperate personal efforts, over which I sweated blood, as the saying goes, but regrettably without results..."¹¹⁰ During the period in which Karamanos was assigned to the Cyclades, the General Eparch of Antiquities was Spyridon Marinatos.

Everything Karamanos succeeded in doing, was undone by the war.

"In the morning of the 9th inst., the Italian Military Commander of the Cyclades, Mr. Giovanni Duci, arrived on Delos aboard auxiliary ship No. R.173 of the Italian fleet accompanied by six Italian officers and six armed soldiers. After visiting the archaeological sites and taking photographs, they headed toward the Museum there and after examining the ancient objects, asked the guardians how many thousands of drachmas they would charge to sell these objects, as though not knowing that they were not for sale. The guardians, as was natural, replied negatively, in which case the Italians took some of the crew and gave themselves over to random digging, while at the same time the soldiers, upon instruction, carried marble antiquities and sections of mosaics to the ship. After that, two of the officers accompanied by the Commander and one soldier collected the guardians and at about 4 p.m. visited the Museum again, when they ordered the latter to open the display cases in which the antiquities are kept. From these cases they removed a valuable black-figure bell-krater in splendid condition, two previous-charged archaic, also beautifully preserved, and about ten glabular ones large and small. Similarly, they removed two small clay heads and about five parts of a vessel with embossed representations, as well as the Museum's unique coin, number 741, and two marble statues."

"At the time the officers were looking the display cases, the soldiers opened the drawer on the table at which tickets were sold, and removed about one thousand five hundred (1500) drachmas. As they were leaving the Museum, they offered the guardians as a tip two five-hundred drachma notes which, despite the latter's persistent refusal, they placed double in their pockets. The two five-hundred drachma notes were that same day deposited by the guardians in the Museum of Mykonos, to which they travelled in the evening of the same day to report on the events to the local authorities there."

"While boarding the ship for departure, the Italian captain said in Greek to the guardians that they would be back 2-3 days later to pick up other antiquities."¹¹¹

Eight days after this regrettable event, the Ministry set up a three-member committee to "secure the antiquities in the Museum of Delos."¹¹² The committee, comprising curator of antiquities Georgios Hekalakis, special curator of antiquities Georgios Dimas, and president of the community of Mykonos Konstantinos Georgakos, worked on Delos from 13 October to 8 November 1941. The sculptures were placed between constructed pedestals and an effort was made "not to disassemble detached members identified by the last Eparch as fragments of various sculptures from the latter." Some of the Museum doors were sealed off by walls, others were nailed shut, and many antiquities were placed in cases with sawdust and paper. But since wood was expensive, the cases were simply "placed face to face and sealed with the personal seal bearing the monogram GH." Notes were made on the wooden shelves of the display cases indicating the cases that were returned from Syros and those that were missing. The protocol drawn up by the committee reports the over-

tence of "1848" in the halls under which the Hellenistic sculptures were placed. But concealing the Museum's antiquities did not stop the looting of Delos. In 1942, "The Commander of Mykonos Lieutenant Gov. Valentini removed two sections of mosaic from the archaeological site of Delos (House of the Masks). Between 14 and 16 April 1942, Italian officers who had come from Andros and were being hosted by the Commander removed a bronze vase from the Museum."¹⁸

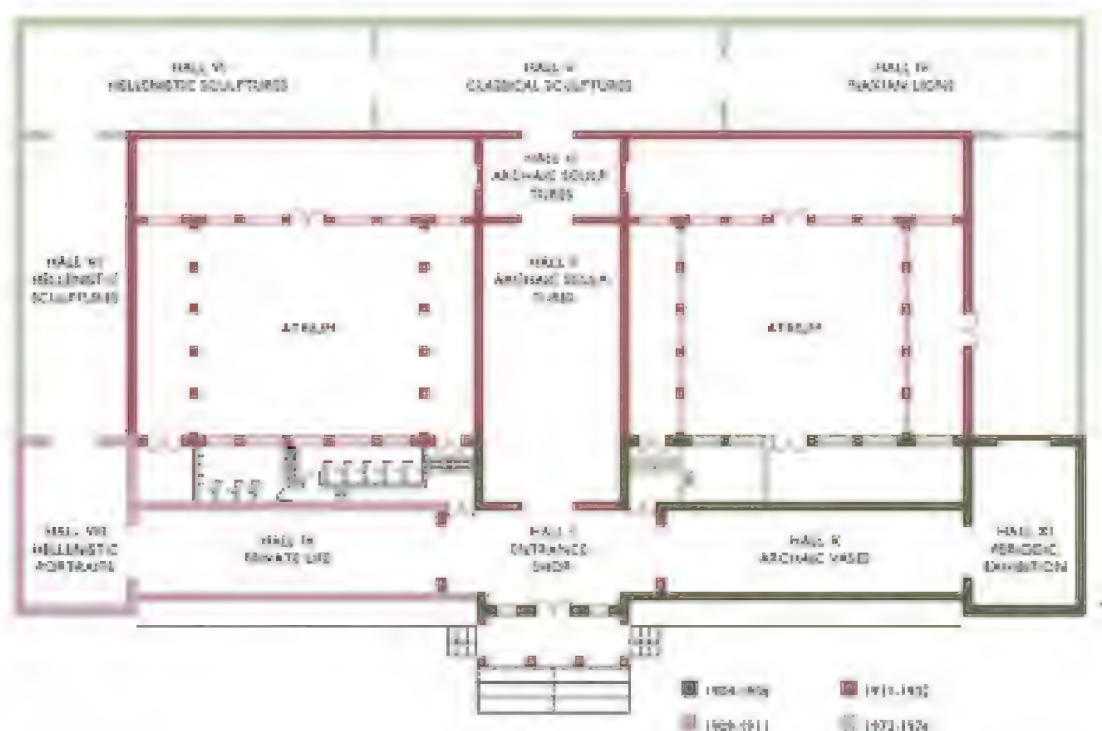
After the war, Nikolaos Konstantou initially and Nikolaos Zaphiropoulos later tried to impose some order on the chaos and catalogue the antiquities, a task that continues to this day.

Despite the extensive repairs to the building in 1949, 1953, 1954, 1963, 1968 and 1980, the problems were not solved; and between 1972-1976 general repairs were carried out and the Museum was enlarged. At that time, the neoclassical features on the building were removed and replaced by a pseudo-Delphic façade.

The Museum of Delos today occupies an area of 2,419 m², and has two interior open-air courtyards with a total area of 260 m². It contains 14 exhibition halls, 11 of which are open to visitors.

The findings from the excavations on Delos are kept in the Museum, and include all or part of some 30,000 vessels, statues, small objects, 8,000 sculptures, and 3,000 inscriptions. Most of the sculptures and a few pottery vessels and small objects are exhibited in the Museum's eleven halls.

The number of visitors (about 120,000 per year) has increased steadily over the past decade. Between November and February, there are very few visitors. The main activity starts suddenly in March, culminates in August or September and drops off abruptly in November.



The floor plan of the Museum today, including its successive extensions and additions.





Aerial photograph of the coastal part of the Archaeological Site. Below left is the white-shaped island called Ixcotel and above it is the Aztec of the lake, the Sanctuary and the filled of the lake. Higher up, the houses of the Teotihuacan can be distinguished and the remaining wall of the Teotihuacan. Below right is the establishment of the Teotihuacan and the houses in the Teotihuacan quarter. The photograph was taken in 2002. Meanwhile, the ongoing work of conservation and restoring the monuments has changed the appearance of the site with the discovery of new monuments and the clearing of ancient roads.







The first view seen by the passengers' window is that of a sea bathed in light. This feeling was even stronger as they approached, when the white plaster on the buildings and the wooden structures reflected the dazzling cyanide light, making the city look translucent, almost suspended between the blue of the Japanese and the clear sky.



In the commercial ports there are many shops and warehouses that open onto the sea, but have virtually no connection with the city, showing that most of the commerce that passed here was destined for immediate export. (Lévesque writes that in the late 17th and 18th c. "a whole import and export line of thousands of slaves on the same day, which amounts for the same: brought over to the port, unloaded and everything is sold.")



In the sacred area of the temple there are small temples dedicated to Demeter and of course, but also god of the sea; there are also many cylindrical marble altars, votive offerings by private citizens to the goddess.



Throughout the Sanctuary there are many examples of semi-circular marble columns, as there are bronze statues with a head for players to rest.



The broad avenue leading to the Oratorio of the Sanctuary starts in the Agaña of the Compadres. On both sides of the street there are gardens in which pilgrims could find cool refuge, meet with friends or buy souvenirs.



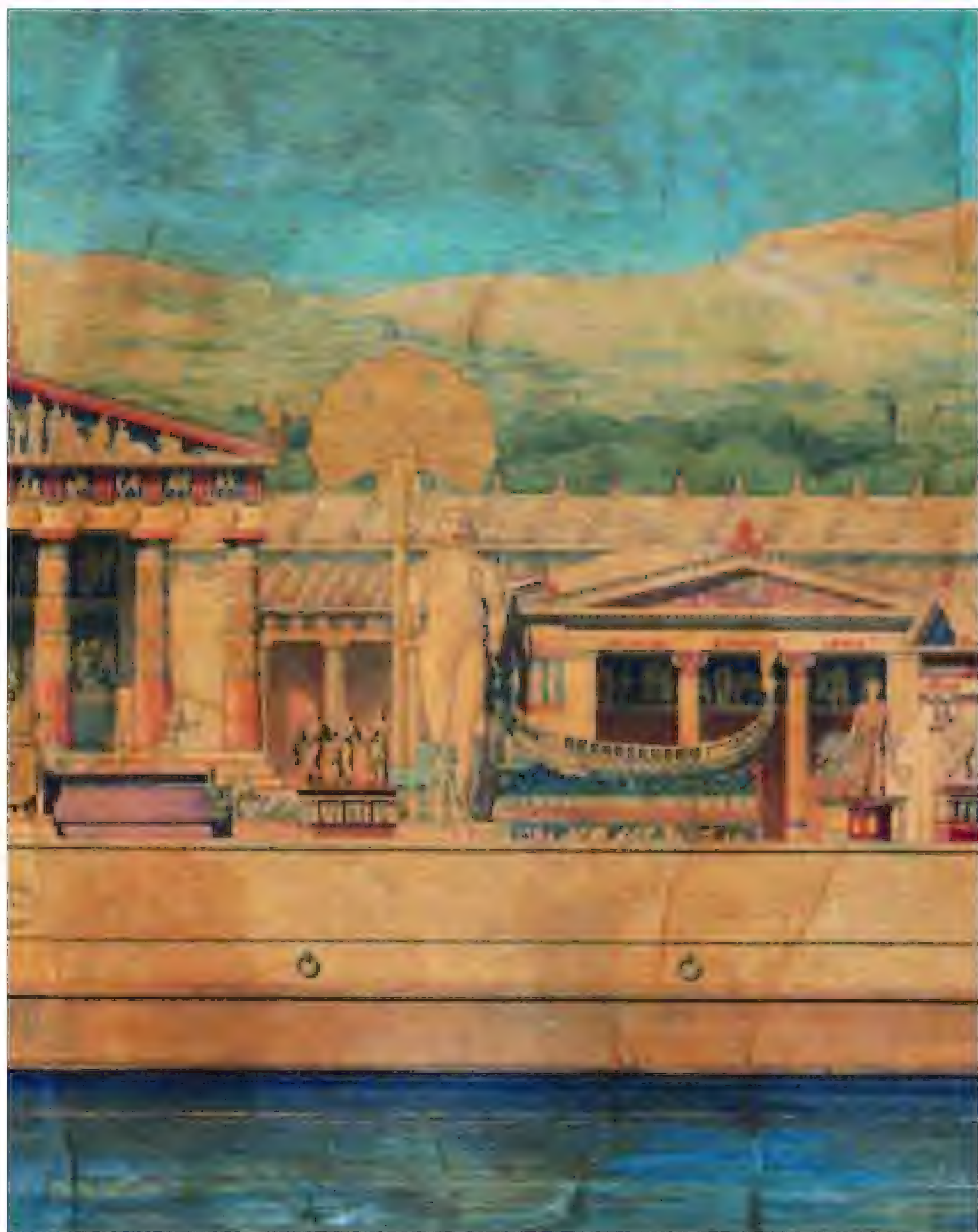


The worn down marble steps of the Propylaea (2nd cent. BC) indicate the large number of people who visited the Sanctuary. The avenue continues after the Propylaea, crosses the Sanctuary and ends at the ancient port Eleuthera. In the background, the Acropolis is clearly visible. To the right of the Propylaea is a terrace dedicated by the Amphictyons in 561 BC.

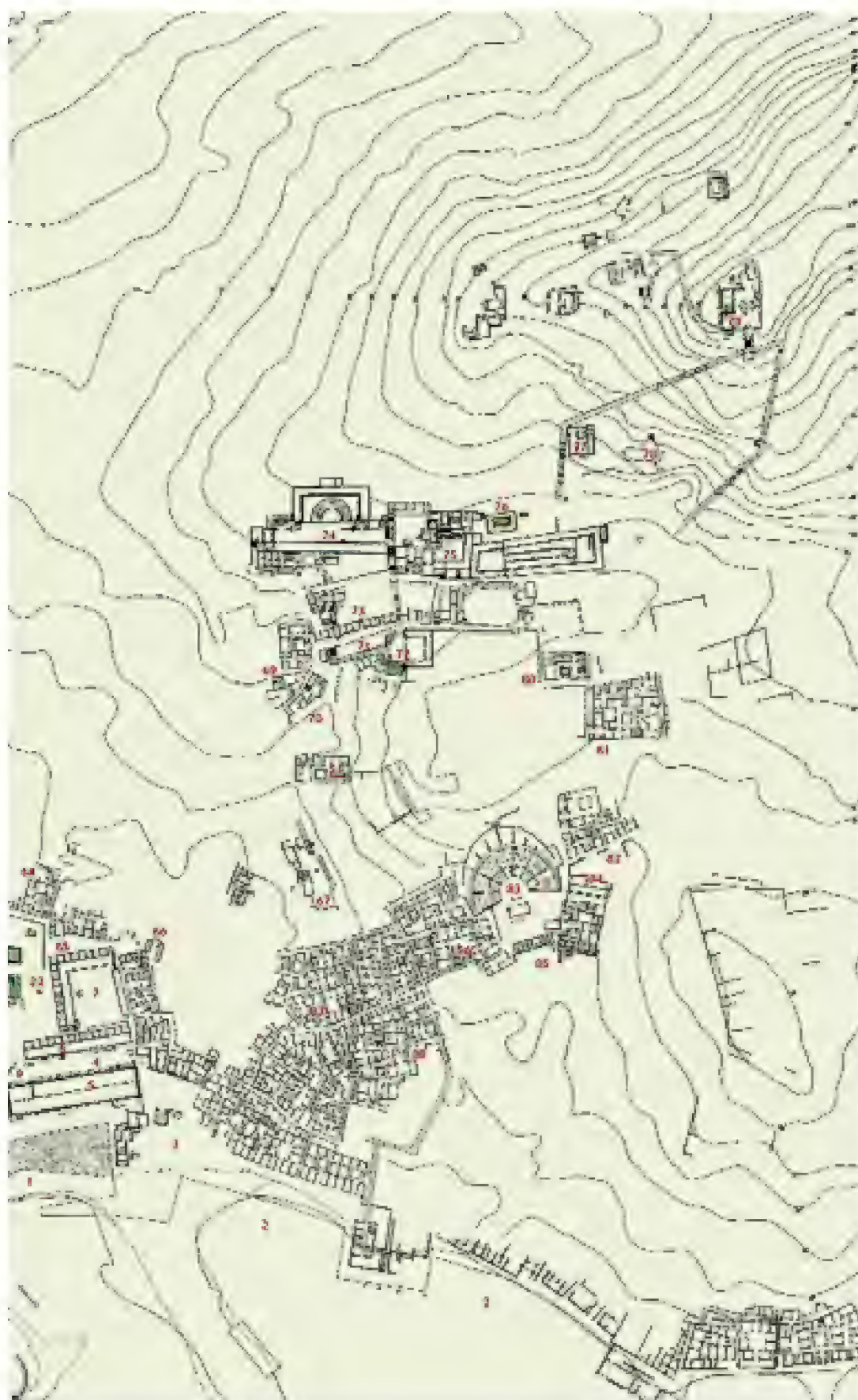


Following page:
Historical reconstruction
of the Sanctuary by Florent
Gillot (11-17, 1982).
In the center is
the Temple of the Children;
the right of which is
the Column of the
Naxos and the left of which
the god is 417 (p. 18)
the unknown Naxos.

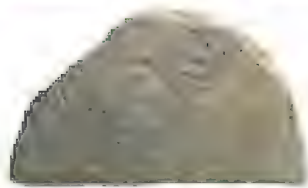








General plan of the central part of Tikal showing the buildings that have been excavated to date. Note the extent of the massive first enclosure built in the second or third century A.D. and a second enclosure with very few named buildings. The picture begins to change dramatically at the end of the 4th century, when different groups were competing to erect the most splendid buildings dedicated to *Yaxche*. The city, no more than a small part of which has been excavated, grew rapidly both in size (extending over 100 m. and only was once close to falling for centuries).



The Oracle of the Nymphs, one of the most ancient buildings in the Sanctuary, was constructed only in the 17th cent. B.C. - Imperial Gorgons adorn the rubble wallwork.





Reconstruction of the Sanctuary and the central part of the city (Dr. Frank, 1988; Frank, 1988). It is estimated that at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., some 30,000 people were living in the city, which is the same size as the map of the Mediterranean, and that 70,000 men of merchandise and 20,000 Jews could probably have been moved through the port in a year. Below is a reconstruction of the Sanctuary (Dr. Frank, 1988; Frank, 1988). (Frank, 1988; Frank, 1988).





Delphi: The ruins of the Temple of Apollo and the Palace of the Sarcophagi reconstructed. Above: what has been preserved today. To the right is the enormous marble base of the Apollo of the Naos. The short distance between the Naos and the port facilitated the transportation of the marble. What is structure was plundered for centuries and only their foundations have survived.



Acroteria from the east facade of the Temple of the Athenaion. Hermes, king of Thess, abducts-praises Phaedra, daughter of Erechtheus of Athens. Left and right two figures of Phaedra flow in time. Despite the heavy censors —the work was imposed to the north winds of the Aegean for at least four centuries— the youthful bodies of the girls radiate through their diaphanous garments. The central acroterion on the west side depicts Ias (Iasos) who seduces the handsome Cephalus, another hero of the Athenians, son of Hermes and Demeter (Ias, sister of Phaedra). During a difficult period (425–400 BC), the Athenians used these compositions to praise their own superiority and to publicize their democratic and free policy of the young people of Athens, in an effort to justify and sanctify their costly imperial policy in the Aegean.





Under the base, a group of figures is depicted, some of whom are holding a large, ornate object, possibly a ritual object or a piece of furniture. The figures are shown in a dynamic pose, suggesting a scene of activity or a ritual performance.





These columns, all very much weathered, of a 1st cent. or older, mark the site of the sanctuary of Apollonia. To the left are the two surviving parts of the Apollo of the Naxians and below them is the marble base of the statue of Apollo. The golden *Zeus Chryseus* statue, now at Louvre, mentioned, as he is referred to in the inscription, having been the sanctuary of Apollonia, Olympia and Delphi, dedicated Athena in a blood-bath, and richly adorned the sanctuary of the god on Ithaca.



These statues of horses and bulls, were offerings to the sanctuary in the 19th cent. or earlier.





Two objects in terracotta (Nile Valley). The circular plate was found at the temple of Edfu while the statue was probably dedicated to the goddess Isis. Both objects, from the Chersonese (Greece), between 600-500 BC. In both cases, the figure is supported by the dignity of the statue in such a way that the suspended part intensifies the feeling of the figure, figure that is on the point of taking off or landing.

Statue of a sphinx that stood on a high base
 unknown to the Americans. Their work
 characteristically is to make something of
 something else. In the case of the sphinx
 at Giza and the statue of the sphinx at
 Giza, the sphinx is a creature of the
 desert, and the sphinx is a creature of the
 desert. In other words, they are all made
 of a single form.

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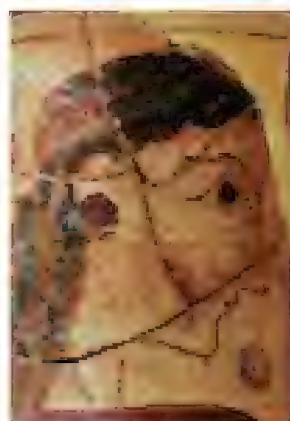
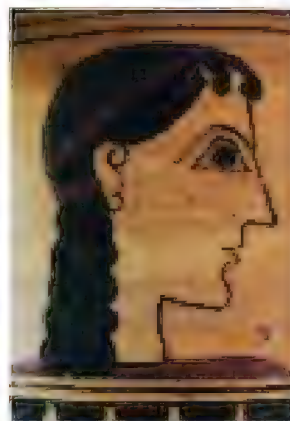


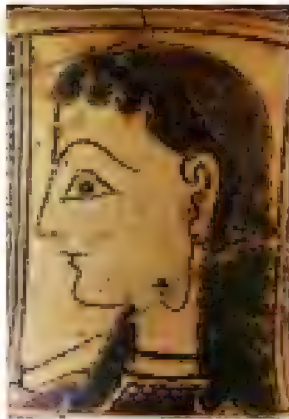


Statues of female human votive offerings to Artemis. The earliest has been dated to c. 525 BC, and the other two with the heavily stylized dresses to c. 500–400 BC. The large, slender and strong, highly columnar bodies, collected the elegant postural figures of the girls.

The sculpture of the earliest statue, within the male-trunk, which is shown, depicted male and female, female, within, in the other hand, an ancient female, in an ancient or classical and elegant way, but with a modernizing suggestion of sexuality or anatomy.







The power of the hairdresser is supplemented by a series of "portraits" of young girls on the neck of Heron vases, from about the same period. The names of the girls and those their portraits are the last representations of women with their hair down. Hence, from that time until just a few decades ago women were almost depicted with their hair severely tied up or back behind the head, which was also frequently covered. Twenty three hundred years after the Greek vase dates when the female hair was first portrayed as in "Duchess" Countess Aphrodite, the goddess is still shown with her hair markedly tied back.





ΟΝΡΥΤΟΜΘ ΟΕΜΜΑΝΔΡΙΝΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΘΕΛΑΣ



Outside the northwest corner of the Villa of the Papyri, an enormous marble base resembling about 10 tons, about the Likouan of the Naxians, a huge statue of Apollo about nine meters tall, created in the early 6th cent. BC. The god was represented in the Louros type, and perhaps held his bow and arrow in his hand, or the three Graces.



*Apelto of the Sissous, modeled by time and rain. "The elements of nature had done their besting him for so many centuries that most any perspective almost nothing has remained of him other than the strong beauty of his chest and back. He is now like a very large stone gently licks by the waves. One might say that only the soul of the turtle has remained. Perhaps, or perhaps because of this it speaks more truth." (G. Nelson, *Drain Down*)*



Triangular base and studies of Naxos to reveal minor offerings to the Sanctuary of Apollo. The bronze was
 was created in Naxos at the second half of the 7th cent. bc. remained half a century later in Rome, where it was displayed
 them for a much longer period. The almost quadrilateral Naxos bronze is distinguished
 for their broad chest and the almost summary resolution of their anatomical details. On the Roman works,
 the musculature is more pronounced, and the bodies are more elongated, athletic and robust making them look lighter and more
 flexible.

111







High Status and Status Symbols
 Their achievements in the Sanctuary of Eridu, when many people would see and admire them. In the spiritual context of their home, such objects demonstrated the disciplined strength of the state, the achievement of humanity, of its civilization and its capacity to create.
 At the same time, they displayed the products of their power in the sanctuary, hoping for large returns from their collections or gifts.

Head of a female figurine
 500-400 BC





The few women offerings from the last half of the 4th cent. BC show that the sanctuary had lost most of its prestige.

The brilliant knowledge of the female nude already a thing of the past. Even the period of the "severe style", a period when sculptors were searching for new expressive ways to render the female nude, the first discovery, but lost before of athletes body built perceived. From the 4th century BC onwards, despite the fact that elements of artistic sensibility are still visible, the musculature of the female bodies and the elementary movement of new nakedness. To the right a discobolus is ready to hurl the discus he is holding in his right hand and to the left is another athlete perhaps holding a string.



In the Apollo of the Neumais and the red statue by Tychon and Apollon, Apollo is depicted as both benefactor and avenger. The former as the right hand and the patron gift he gives to man, while the latter as his left is a permanent warning of how harsh he can be to those who disappoint him. With the warning how he killed the Hyacinth, as well as the children of Niobe, and with a human governed justice into the Greek world, Apollo thus spreading disease and death. The red tablet and depict the statue by Tychon and Apollon. To the left of the god's head, Hermes is portrayed carrying a caduceus on his shoulders and to the right is Nike, indeed it is perhaps part of a larger tablet. 7888.



Apollo's statue in the pines and wings to the right and a Muse of poetry with her lyre (top right). 7888.





Statues of Apollo dating from the 7th and 6th cent. BC.
During the Hellenistic period, Apollo
is always portrayed as the youth described by
Callimachus: "ever beautiful, ever young, he on
whose tender cheeks no down ever showed and
from whose limbs fragrant oil drops upon the grass".



Is it little my little figure, suddenly light,
 self-quantified, shines, more right the more rare,
 whose right hand leaves both the down, whose left hand the count
 you feel the unendingness around of your virtual motion.
 Hitho this, first answer, wonder of your movement
 distance coming round the end circle you on the
 horizontal path of the game, and you at the end of
 With your golden key you fill the world with harmony
 drawing your world. Of golden matter in the present
 matter of the world, place of the flow,
 they and brought round the figure you see,
 light down, in your mind, some, of matter of life,
 matter of fruit, feeling and very good of flow,
 Of material matter of time, moment, flow,
 across, our material, strong one of the world
 you, who through and through with lovely, moment, matter,
 are the dispenser of matter, matter of matter, and of the world,
 subject to your will, further, matter, matter of all
 one of matter, and light of life, of matter of matter,
 when pulling your matter with your matter, matter,
 from these matter and from the matter with a good life.

One: From, it out, it.

Representations of Apollo
 often date from the 5th and
 4th centuries B.C. He is
 usually shown as a young
 man, the beauty and grace of
 the god are emphasized. He is
 presented either in the formal,
 long garment of the Citharodes,
 with his belted robes,
 or more frequently naked,
 with his hair often draped over
 his left shoulder. Holding the
 plectrum in
 his right hand and the lyre
 in his left, the musical instrument used in
 most private gatherings,
 in his left







The figure was made 180-160 may be compared from the statue typical "Aphrodite of Capri" (180-160) and the figure of a *Maestri* (180-160) which is a copy of the *Lyons* Aphrodite by *Praxiteles*, the girl is stepping on three *Gallo* rocks, recalling the *rest* of the *Gallo* over each the *Sanctuary* of *Daphn* early in the 2nd cent. BC.





As the story goes, Apollo has golden hair bright like corn and golden beams around his head, much like later descriptions of his successor in the sky and, as a lucky, it seems appropriate that of the god, his kinship reveals the patterns of the sun and the light.



Dead hero, the relief by Aristides,
of Thessalonica.
The ephebeus of Thessalonica,
171000, 100.



The Muse Polyhymnia, patron deity
of poetry, to gods and humans, is des-
tined to be the mother of the gods.
The sacred island of Apollo
Museum, many names of
the Muses have been found.
As deities of song, history, music,
dance, poetry, inspiration and govern-
ance of music creation, they indirectly
everything that affects the god.







The beauty and grace of the goddess — Aphrodite accompanied by the youngest appearance of her companion, Eros (Knidos, Nymphs and Maenads, also-supplicational content the image of eternal youth). The statue (Hellenistic) plays the volume, independent character, Eros and Aphrodite seated on a rock, among 2nd-4th century AD.

[illegible]

Abstracts of the following papers were presented:

101



Isis, distinguished amongst women, daughter of Demeter of Naxos, sister of Persephone and wife of Osiris dedicated her to her whose statue by her 450-600 BC. The most ancient (Naxos) and the largest (Athens) of the Naxian female statues have been found on Delos.



*Isis: relief with Athena Lakonia, patron deity of women about to give birth and an adolescent virgin (520-500 BC).
Isis: leg and support from marble table with the representation of seated Athena*

Atalanta races her suitor to marry or risk death. Here, against a fleeing deer, the desperate leap of the goddess is caught with the dramatic movement represents the ideal of excellence of the classical gods to human life. 125-100 BC





Two statues of Athena from the Parthenon (shown from opposite sides). They could hardly have been more perfect.





Statuette of Artemis found in Grotto of the Virgin Mary, 17 (1st, 18). Artemis, on the goddess of the hunt, wears a robe of soft leather and a short tunic. She has a bow in her hand, and a quiver and arrows in her bag.



During the period in which Aristonius Hermas
of Artemis was high priest
of Artemis (about 100 B.C.), the
Greeks dedicated this relief to Hermas and to
his progenitors. Relief representing Artemis
lighting a torch, with the figure
of the deity
Date: 1st cent. B.C.



In a rural sanctuary of Artemis, where statues placed
on a little column, either the goddess herself or Artemis II
in the costume of Arcton, is preparing a sacrifice.
A young boy lights the fire on the altar and another
carries the objects necessary for the sacrifice.







Two reliefs depicting the wedding of a pig and a girl to Anahita. The reliefs are from the right hand in the group of reliefs from the Etruscan Tomb of the Augures.





Seals and a loess with representations of Ammon.
Seal 255 represents the statue of Ephesus. Ammon
On seal 250 is female, with a snake at her left hand and a
crescent moon at her foot. Ammon goddess
of nature and motherhood, symbolized Ammon in large
scale as the goddess of the river. In her sanctuary
on Rhodus, she was regarded as Athena-Rhodia.





These two groups and ones made accompanied
 in the spirit of the dead.
 The finding, fragments
 of her days and times to people
 seeking at right.
 She is the pattern goddess
 of wisdom, when she teaches,
 religious and gods in their
 cultural collection of image
 pieces. These are statues and
 others of Egypt,
 early 17 and 18.



Aramand is a small circle a few meters after the last temple of Apollo are the ruins of the Tholos or Tholos from the classical period. These small temple-like structures, offerings by various Hellenic cities, were used initially as accommodation or banquet halls for pilgrims and later, when the temples had become infirmly built, they were used to keep valuable objects and items offerings. In front of the Tholos are ruins from the Temple of the Victoria.



The Monument of the Hills, a long avenue leading back to the 17th century, is probably based on a picture dedicated to Apollo after a victory in a civil battle. The avenue was decorated with Norichs riding on elephants and elephants laying over white-sappled horses.







The city archives were also kept from under the protection of the gods, the Great Mother of the Gods, whose sanctuaries, the Mithras, were located in the city.



In the city archives (left) the sacred laws of the city were kept, from the city archives, at public expense, and all those who had offered exceptional services to the city.





The great Diana
 goddess of the moon
 was depicted with the
 bow and arrow in her
 right hand and the
 quiver on her left.
 She was also
 identified with Minerva
 and Artemis and was
 worshipped
 as the goddess of the
 moon and the
 hunt.
 The Diana, as she is seen
 from the museum and the
 church of St. John, is
 the Diana, the goddess
 of the moon and the
 hunt.
 The goddess of the
 moon and the hunt
 was not at all
 popular in Rome because
 she was too cold.



Terracotta figurine
of Harappan Period.







The Site of Artemis was built in about 250 BC by the king of Macedonia, Antigonos Gonatas, in honor of the goddess as the patroness. King Antigonos, son of King Demetrius from Macedonia in Lydia, via the local craftsmen, regularly alternate with white marble blocks. The statue of Queen Victoria, presented at the Museum, which was dedicated by his friend Miles son of Zeno in about 100 BC, gives an idea of the height of the altar and the picture that the sanctuary presented with its hundreds of votive statues.



The little island remained sacred in people's memory. On top of the ancient sanctuaries, eight early Christian basilicas were erected and the bishop had his See here.



All the 34 columns of the magnificent Hypostyle Hall, just a few inches and were capital-
lino were preserved. On top of the ruins of the building, houses and monastery complexes
rem built like of 12th and 13th cent. The modern buildings on the site date to the late 19th cent
and were used to house the members of the French Archaeological School.



The area in front of the Hypostyle Hall was turned into another Agora in 1285 BC by Thargosides the Athenian Epistates (annual Athenian governor) of Uluks, who also took care to improve and extend the harbour facilities. A statue of him was erected in the square by merchants and shipowners out of gratitude. The inscription notes that Athenians are residents of Uluks, but not all Athenians, while the Romans and other foreigners are mostly transients on the island. Near the base of the statue are the ruins of the Hekatom and the altar of Poseidon Naxosios.



To Thargosides of Athenians, son of Hekatomides of Athenians, who having been Epistates of Uluks, built the agora and the waterfront around the port. This is dedicated by the Athenians residing in Uluks, and the merchants and ships' captains, Romans and other foreigners living here lawfully as homes in his centre and vicinity and all the benefits he brought to them.

Three tributaries of the river are the W-1, 2, and 3. The smaller streams flow into a long, narrow lake that they share in common, with the lake, composed largely of a common, rich sand and forest floor from the debris of the trees and forest by the woods.



During the period of independence (1910-1930), the Hmong population continued with the management of resources, property, ownership of the land, and the political structure remains similar to north side. This is supported by 174th census detailed document by the immigration on the land of freedom and of future and the name of a piece of land and a house for the date of structure and the Hmong then followed the hierarchy spirit with structure. The type of settlement also gives us the ethnic, tribal and land time zone in two forms, one land (three people) and water forest (four).

In descent, some Hmong have been offered with their children about the land and water.



O Hercules! thou blood-brother of the earth,
 ruler of death, who hold'st your twisted scepter of bronze
 and rulest at the bottom of the ocean depths;
 you rule the sea and punishing rivers. O thunder-cloud with wings,
 master of the multitudinous furies, giver of grace;
 you set your chosen racing, discipling
 the strong warriors with lightning blows:
 your statue, hipped to by the wind, the ship's quarter of the sea;
 O you, god of the sea, who delight in terror, accompanied by cold beasts;
 make first quick's boat and dead boat's last refuge
 as gale and ship upon their course.

(Hesiod, *Theog.*, 47-55; trans. E. V. Rieu)



The Vestalium, a structure dedicated to the Vesta gods, inside contained just altars. At the back of the cella in the little temple built early in the 3rd century, there is still a base on which the cult statue stood.



In the center of the temple was the archaic wooden cult statue (xoanon) of Leto, dressed in a linen chiton and purple himation, a work so scrappy in the people of the Hellenistic period that, as reported by the historian Strabo of Halicarnassus, the philosopher Strabo of Cappadocia would have been as much as seen as he saw it.



Artemis and Apollo to the left and right of a xoanon, this may be the cult statue of their mother.



The head of a colossal statue of the deified Demetrius Poliorcetes was found in the Cardo Maximus, Damascus, in order to emphasize the legitimacy of his succession, co-opted with the features of Alexander. The deification of the once arrogant Athenian was so great with the Greeks so extravagant, that even Demetrius was assigned. A letter addressed to him when he visited Athens reflects the view of Hecataeus and Apollodorus: "The supreme and most beloved of all the gods are among in the city because this king of men has brought Hecate together with Demetrius. The former comes to console the mortal miseries of Rome and the latter, happy as both a god, beautiful and useful. What a magnificent spectacle, friends all around and he in the middle, as though the friends were stars and he the sun, reaching, O son of the divinity and Demetrius and Apollonius! because the other gods are either too busy or too busy as they are the one cannot pay as attention to us, while we can see you near us and you are neither wonder nor stone, but real. This is why we pray to you! Not just as you are, but we, because you have the power..."





The statue of Leda, mother
of the swans, an Archaic and classical
The statue on the left is a 100-year
old statue. Leda is the typical figure
of an ancient time. The statue shows
CP-12 and it is in the type of Leda
by the sculptor Polygnotos.



The slowly ascending Agios of the Isis is the largest building on Philae. By uniting the previously scattered buildings on the island itself, the Supremacy of the age made an unambiguous statement of its presence, its power and the regulatory role it had decided to play in the Agios. In the same way, the Nubians and the Akkadians had declared their presence and intentions in previous ages.





The wealthy merchant Ganes Optidatta Theras from Gampaha paid for a site in the built-up area of the temple of the figure posturing at the same time the right to build a shrine and a temple. His next son-in-law, who he paid, took all the most sculptures of the period to construct his temple, aware that there appeared to be no other and the temple, a faithful portrait of a master, eventually has come into being. There can only be the possibility, outside from the available statue by Theras and his family.



*The first student to apply the status of Law Officer
Harris was of Meyer in public in his article
and forefathers*

Reformer was at *Fremont*, and *Fremont* was at *Delphi*.
 (Chicago, May 2.)





The statues of the lions were dedicated by the Samians to the Sanctuary of Apollo about the end of the 7th century B.C., according to other sources. In the late 19th century, excavations of a structure, building platform extended to demonstrate the superiority of Samos to all Ionian polities. Placed on a high terrace along the road leading from the north port to the Samians. Two important columns with their foreheads exposed, as most of them had never seen a lion.





Swivel on their hind legs, with their mouths half open in an eternal howl, and their glances fixed on the east, they welcome the Gods of Light, every morning and every evening, eternal guardians of the Sacred Lake and the Sanctuary.





In 1920, the Soviet "retained island" lake was filled in because of a malaria epidemic. In 1931, Ivan Shchegolev Oppen planted a solitary palm tree in the middle of the island. At the point marked later continued in the both houses. This year, for the first time, the lake was again filled with water, attracting many unprecedented visitors: wild ducks, cranes, herons, swallows.



Using Phobos, where the golden, the twisted fate
 In envisioning the stars, some have said, but he
 knew well, the most beautiful of all the gods, by the ancient tale
 of Phobos, one, brother with the stars of ancient, the stars, fate, could
 and the all-encompassing, and he said, to be, to be.

Wang, S. and J. C. Powell, 1997. A new species of the genus *Stenobothrus* (Hymenoptera: Ichneumonidae) from China. *Ann. Entomol. Soc. Am.* 90: 100-102.



In the Hellenistic period, people suddenly found themselves outside the known boundaries of the city, in a vast and unknown world. Groups of common people gathered together in societies, creating a familiar and secure microcosm under the protection of an intermediary. This building houses the foundations of the temple, the ruins of sanctuaries, depictions, and numerous objects that came from Hama, the most important city of Syria.



Praschi-Hall, Aphrodite-Aphrodite and Eros-Aphrodite, early Hellenistic, in the Hellenistic style of the Greek artists. The figure, the equivalent of the egg, was sculpted and painted in the form of a Greek goddess, 1/2-100 m.





11. The group representing
the encounter between
Ampyx and the nymph
only the nymph survives and
the head of Ampyx, who is
pulling off his tunic. The front
of the nymph is unweathed, and
it is obvious that the sculptor was
along the local myth of the first
as an excuse; his effort was focused
on rendering the nymph's elegant
demeanor. Late 1st century BC.



The ruins of the Caracalla complex, which consists of many independent residences with a total area of 400,000 sq. m, was built during the last decades of the 2nd cent. AD, and finally abandoned after Diocletian ordered the complex to be destroyed. Today is the subject of the main theme of the Caracalla and before the reconstruction of the complex (the structure is shown in the plan).





In the House on the Hill (House 1) an other house opposite, which has not yet been excavated, and in the House of the Ceramics, large sections of wall paintings were found that give an idea of the interior and exterior decoration of houses. The wall paintings were executed with minerals and mineral-based pigments (indirect application on damp plaster). When the residents wanted to renew the decoration, they would lay down a new thin layer of plaster and paint over it. The removal of the exterior wall paintings, which deteriorated very rapidly, would take place quite frequently, and often on the exterior often and lavishly, there were many successive layers of wall paintings.





On the facade of the house, nine successive layers of wall paintings were found that had been done in the space of not a few years. The chronologically last layer gives the fullest impression of a household: a black youth strikes the flank of a pale steve, a galloping man leads him, the snout of a pig being led by a young slave to the garden, a standing official gets in front of the steve, and a little black slave, setting the table with glass and bronze vases, kneels before a painted wall with ritual and domestic and theatrical scenes. The scenes of the house are celebrating the complete attainment of the house.





The paintings were executed with soft
brushstrokes on the damp plaster and were
though they are not works of significant value,
they have vitality and expressiveness.
Often a preliminary design is traced
on the plaster with a sharp instrument
or the ground lines of the drawing
and details of figures are added.

Each figure, in the picture
taken under the Museum lamp
shows a figure of the horse
in depicted four times, crossed
and with the club in his right
hand and the bow in his left hand.



All that remains of the first
 scene is the large, dark, vertical
 shape on the right, which
 is the central part of the
 scene. In the middle of the
 scene, there appears to be
 a large, dark, vertical shape
 which is the central part of
 the scene. In the middle of the
 scene, there appears to be
 a large, dark, vertical shape
 which is the central part of
 the scene.





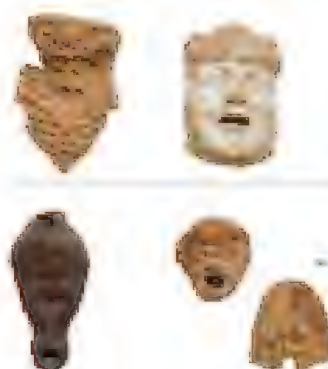
The lower Roman gods of the family household, of wealth and of commerce drink from ritual goblets in the bust of a wealthy god.







In the house of the Theban Tomb large wall-paints of a family were found, with scenes from comedies and tragedies. The actors are wearing characteristic costumes and masks. In most houses the volume of the wall-paints for the theatre, especially for comedy, is apparent. Theatrical scenes are depicted on many rooms. Boxes and furniture of quay where masks and other puppets have been found, copying the houses of plays.





*child of an old blind man, Antigone,
What right, say, what right have you to die?
Who will punish you with named fate
This monster?*

Seneca, Oedipus at Colonus, 1.2



Antigone: Antigone leads her blind father to a sacred site where he is buried, to the right a portrait.
Antigone: various figures and tablets in the form of actors in characteristic masks from the New Comedy.





Detail of wall paintings with white figures on a dark background perhaps in imitation of relief figures. Above is a representation of the sleeping Ariadne in Naxos whom Theseus abandoned after he had found the Minotaur, an encounter that resulted in her becoming the great grandmother of the Romans. To the right, a scene depicting a pastoral feast and games from the *Idylls*.



Figure 10.10: A classical painting depicting a scene with several figures in a room. The artist outlines the figures clearly with a painterly, patterned style, using the highlights and shadows to define the forms. Thus, the background is dark, which is more or less visible, due to the effect of chiaroscuro, indicating the use of a different color.







Scenes of tribes capturing a shaman
 (top). These wall paintings, as well as
 the most petroglyph-rich, date from
 the Classic (A.D. 250-900) and the Late
 Preclassic (A.D. 100-250) periods, and give an idea
 of the intense devotion and the
 complexity of the religion which
 young people did their generation.







On the three above, women in multi-colored garments are seated cross-legged under a house. In the scene on the right, a young man is offering a pouch of money to a seated woman who is holding out her hand eagerly. The figure may possibly have decorated a luxury festival.

Below left: the figure with the chosen man between two and three and to the right a young man leading a pig to be sacrificed on the altar.





The two brothers, members of the House of the Medici, decided that their portraits, perhaps copies of official bronze images or their permanent residences in Rome, were placed in this important branch of their bank. The portraits were located at a central point in the house so that they could be seen directly by visitors, with a view to inspiring confidence in the authority, seriousness and credibility of the enterprise, and at the same time constituting a constant reminder to the designated managers, employees and clients of the severity of the masters, particularly during the long winter months when they were absent.





The owners of the House of the Dead, whose wealth was dependent on the sale of images of their dogs, buried images in the center not only to Venus, Apollo and Hercules, but also to Hercules the Sun God, considering him as an equal to the great gods.



Large vessels, broken rings and ware. The small fragments were little knots of raw clay that held down the ends of the thick linen bands with which the scroll of papyrus was bound. Over this clay, the sender or contracting parties and witnesses would press their ring, the representation on which took the place of a signature. The fire that destroyed the houses of the lords in 480 B.C. also burned the contracts - extensive files that were kept on the first floor. The burning papyrus and wooden furniture on which they were placed kindled the first clay of the scale thus ensuring their preservation.



Ring stones from the 17th and 18th c. A red stone with a relief of a figure holding a staff or a scepter in its right hand and a scroll in its left hand. The figure is wearing a crown and a long robe. The stone is oval and has a reddish-brown color.

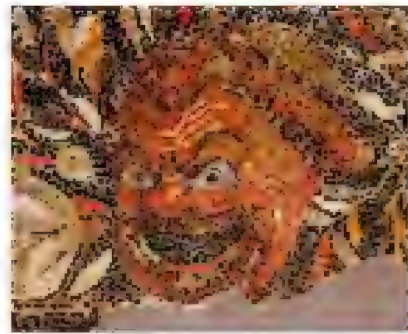




Mosaic floor from the banquet hall or *andron*,
the official reception room of the house
in which men's symposia were held
in the *insula* of the *Forulani*.
Late 2nd-early 1st cent. AD.









The *paroliana*, the central transportable motif of the *musica fiera*, presents Athena, Hermes with his winged sandals and caduceus, and a central female figure. The central scene is bordered by a stylized garland, punctuated by birds' heads and theatrical masks of characters from the *New Comedy*.





Almost from the upper floor of the same house, King Lysander of Thrace, enemy of Cleopatra, lingers forward with a raised arm to hit the fallen Antiochus, the god - now, before the god - restoration to restoration has already transformed into a lady who with grapes.

110



These figures drink water from a bronze tripod basin resting on a small window. Copy of a famous work by the master of the school of Argos.



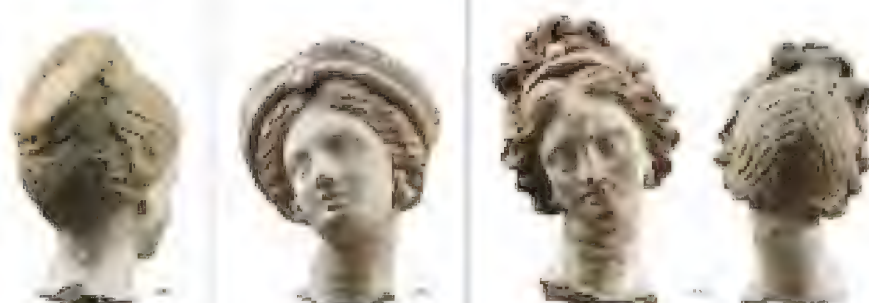
Part of a mouse embroidery depicting Doudou seated on a patch



Sections of the central mosaic
of a mosaic floor with a multicolored
background of stylized foliate patterns;
a mosaic from the upper floor of the
Lazarus House; and sections of the mosaic
portraying a smoothed lion.







The elegant women of Ichna wear long heavily draped dresses, girded below the breast, and light diaphanous linen or silk coverings. The clothes reveal nothing, but highlight and stress all the curves of the body. Their hair, elaborately curled, is held with bands or combs, and always pulled up or back.





Women enhance their appearance with jewelry. Most of the jewelry that has been found on lakes is of inexpensive materials, mainly glass pebbles, since the valuable jewelry was either looted by pirates or taken away for its weight. Above: a necklace with beads cut from natural egg shell, shell, glass beads, rings and brooches from various sites and two dressing pins of ivory and silver depicting Aphrodite emerging from the sea.



Two women had been, despite the panic, to bury their jewelry and thus we have the contents of the jewel boxes of two comfortable but, as indicated by their houses, not particularly wealthy ladies of the 1st cent. AD. The jewel box of the first woman: a pair of gold earrings with pearls, a gold medallion with the bust of Aphrodite, a several gold medallions decorated with gemstone and glass paste, a medallion with many gold pieces and beads.



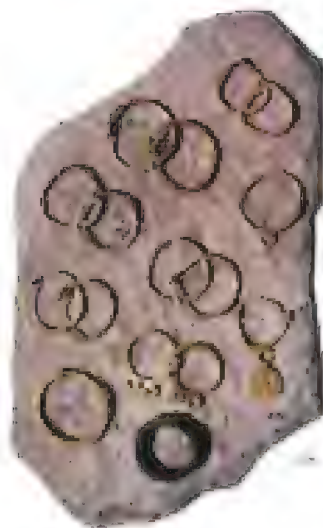




The silver bowl has belonging to the lady of the house and
 also contains two gold pendants with a bust of Aphrodite and
 Eros, which may have been worn on a kirtid larmic; two
 gold chains with medallions, three pairs of gold earrings and
 one gold ring.



In both cases, together with the jewelry, coins and other objects that had been buried.
In the first case, there was just one silver Athenian tetradrachm, but in the second case, there was a small hoard of 15 silver tetradrachms, 2 gold stater and two half-staters.



Earrings were the essential, permanent jewels worn by women of all classes, demonstrating their social status and exhibiting their husband's wealth at the same time, since they had a stable value; they were also an investment and a kind of insurance against future inflation. In earlier periods, jewelry was of solid gold, but in the Hellenistic period precious stones and pearls started being used, so that gold gradually became the metal connecting individualized status. From the Etruscan graves and the Urquhart graves found recently we know it can be seen that women were very frequently buried wearing their earrings.



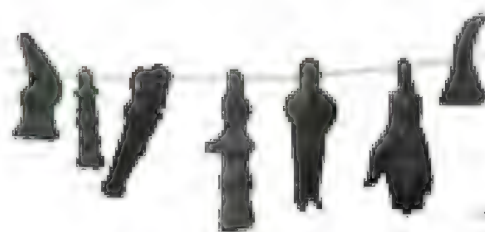


Women and men alike wear moccasins with elaborate sewing and beaded ornaments (pictorial). They often have a high sole to muffle their steps on muddy roads. In winter, many wear boots of soft leather or thick wolfskin stockings and moccasins that rest at the heel.





Ploughing and rearing were in general, which were initially used only by women. Women devoted to the daily potter's art, and appearance of women of all classes. Commonest tools made of bone with plates and round pagans that were ground to elegant marble mortars and mixed with some lacy substance. A brush and a thin bone instrument were used to rub the eyes, a rose colour was applied to the cheeks and a darker red to the lips.



Women and men alike wore amulets to protect themselves from evil and the evil eye, and many resorted to magic especially on matters of revenge (p. 100). One woman placed a terrible curse on those who stole her snake (myrtle; another "bird") of advantage, among whom were many of her relatives, as well as the Athenian dependence of Helen (divine replica of men are used to "bind" evil spirits; magic rituals are used, and loud threats are uttered with red wooden phallus in the moonlight in an effort to bring some misfortune lower back.





The athletic facilities – the Palatine Gymnasium, Stadioum and Stadium – are grouped together southeast of the Sanctuary, a short distance apart. Above, the House of the Dioskoures, possibly the palaestra of Blaudes, an extremely successful gymnasiarch for the sons of wealthy families below in the Gensile Palastina.





Just before the unexpected disaster, the French members of the Palatine of Saxony had begun with the reconstruction of a splendid paradise with elegant columns on high relief bases. It was never completed. After the disaster, the sculptures which were visible, such as a Sanyr, continue reflecting, of the disaster, were used as decorative materials.



Indicated during the writing of physical sciences feature
 Charles Lee of Philadelphia
 and Saunders was of Sandy-
 Atkinson





The Palaestra was decorated with many statues: the *peristyle* of the *nymphaeum* (fig. 380-382) the copy of the *Hadrianus* (177), a superb example of what patricians valued with *gloria*; the *Pseudo-Athens* (178), a portrait of a powerful Roman protector of the Palaestra; the statue of *Antonia* (179), an idealized portrait of a dead daughter of the family and others.



The marble portraits found in the House show the faces of some of the inhabitants. The few "portraits" of Greeks still show idealized faces, with a diffuse sensual grandeur. The wealthy Roman families, the Latins and African merchants pose unsmiling, serious, and stern, but they wear the Roman *pileus*, which they use, owing to illness, like a mask, one that has been worn so often that it can no longer be removed; it has become one with the face.







Rarest portrait of an older man
found in the Late Hellenistic
period, possibly represents a principal
of the Lyceum, or a philosopher.
Late 2nd cent. AD.



The only things preserved from the hundreds of bronze statues that adorned the sanctuary and houses were those marble faces: a few heads, a few more fragments and this bronze head from the Gigante Palanthe. The face of the young man with the strong features and the unusual mouth is not as ruthlessly "raked" as the portrait of the wealthy Roman. It retains the idealized features of Greek portraits.



In the increasing prominence of the self-adorning personality of the self-adornment in having their actual human features as their portrait, one can see the examples that usually applied to the son of Krimichos. On the contrary, the rendering of particular rational traits constitutes a challenge to sculptors, which they approach with affection, as can be seen in the bust of the young man with the luxuriant hair, likewise in portraits of the family, it was necessary to over-emphasize their "barbaric" features in order to make the successful king.





Terracotta figurines, works by minor artists, testify to a prostitution that was the anonymous multitude of the non-proletarian and frequently female types that circulated on the city streets. Ephyraeans, lecherous-looking youths, dancers, drunken old ladies, gosses, innocent entertainers and prostitutes, beggars, priests, and exhausted slaves who have fallen asleep give a vivid picture of the real population of the city.







In the 19th cent. on, there was a trend toward returning to the forms and expressive media of the classical and archaic periods. But the works produced outside the conditions in which the classical or archaic periods were created were thwarted and false. In this archaisms relief found in the Lido House, Hermes, Athena, Apollo and Artemis have nothing of the inner power of original archaic works. They look like actors wearing costumes.

At the bottom of the picture, the Lido Palace, flooded with water after the waters of last winter. Above, to the left is the Lido House with its elegant gothic columns and to the right is a part of the Grande Palazzo.



The peristyle of the Laikis House has several columns of grey-blue marble from Tinos, with bases and an especially distinctive type of white marble ionic capitals.

The *Intendings* in ancient houses took low and functional shapes: benches, seats, portable tables and boxes for storing clothing and vessels. Above is a reconstruction of a kind of cabinet with drawers that were found in Etruscan houses and below the reconstruction of a *stipes* table.





For cooking and heating, clay
stoves were used, that heated
and, cooking vessels were also
clay, but on festal days of sacrifices,
large bronze cauldrons were used.
In the crechehouse of one moderately
small house, a total of 88 different
types of clay vessels were used
that were directly related to food.
To them must be added the vessels
of portable material that were lent
and ritual ones that were lent.
The large number of different vessels
indicates a particularly strong
need for clay with refined tones,
which did not constitute either as a
universal vessel, but as a variety
of special employment.







remnants from a semi-ancient *Springer* (owner of a fish of boiled fish). In the book, one modern and many ancient books for preparing fishbowl, and the statistics of an old fisherman. The remains of food that were found in the excavations show that the inhabitants of Uluca were particularly fond of fish and seafood. Uluca fish were famous as were its fisherman. The dinner with the many fish is a champagne, especially for antiquity, identical to that used by fishermen in the Aegean in the day. The rocky coast of Uluca are still swimming with seagulls, which would have been even more abundant in antiquity. This explains the habituation of sailors, the invisible wandering monk, expressed in the Hittite hymn to *Yaghas Lawa*: "And water of the god who he is here ago are this and did depress me? Water of the god is another land, many-eyed in child his people and water in the depths of the sea, in dream a rest for peopled and their soul?"



The *cruciatas* were lighted by single or multiple-wick lamps that frequently were in the shape of a ship. Despite the fact that oil was expensive, many lamps existed in the houses at the same time and a slave was responsible for keeping them filled and the wicks clean. In a small tavern, 50 lamps were found, and in the house of the owner of the *cruciatas*, a total of 100 lamps.





Two pithoi for keeping powders, without their lids, and a "flower vase" decorated with applied relief figures that were made separately in molds.



Tableware for knowledge of signs in various forms: a donkey carrying barrels and barrels, a lion and theatrical masks. The two small amphorae in the form of an African and a baby are different personae. These unusual grotesque figures would draw the attention of visitors, thus marking the "evil eye", while at the same time, by showing their genitals, they render men





Dolls with movable arms, like, whose body has been preserved intact, has a small pellet inside it which makes it like a rattle. Aristotle recommends that children be occupied with such games so that they do not break things in the house. Plutarch mentions a trick of an incompetent nurse: "The child is hungry and she says it is full; it is dirty and she bathes it, it wants to sleep and she wakes the child." The doll on the left with the green and gold-colored dresses represents some famous heroine or saint.



100-110. Toys for adults and children.
 The duck, the rabbit and the African
 are also rattles.



Figures of ancient tools and fragments of various flint and stone, all yielded by the same.





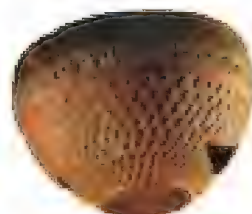
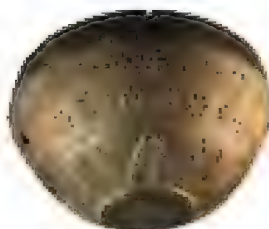
Ships from all over the Mediterranean and the Black Sea carried large quantities of wine to the harbors of Italy as clay amphorae. Every city had its own distinguishing shape of amphorae with marks on the handles or on the rim indicating the name of the producer, the city of origin, and the spontaneous season of the year. Thus, from the shape of the amphorae and its marks, the buyer could tell what city the wine was from, what vineyard produced it and in what year. The amphorae are large, heavy containers appropriate for transportation and storage, but not for everyday use. The wine was decanted through funnels into smaller table decanters called *kylixes*.



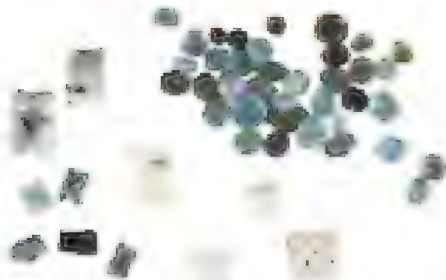


Left: scene or vase painter
holding a large jar.
Right: Lion kills a cup
with wine from
an amphora that he is
holding on his shoulder.
Below: remains for
sitting liquid and solid
meatballs.





Outside the Sanctuary, on the avenue leading from the port to the Hippodrome, the Gymnasium and the Stadium, a small room could have held or let in large cups. Thirty-eight of these cups were on the floor, the remaining 100 were found stacked in columns, one inside the other, beside the wall and must have been placed on a piece of wooden laminate that was destroyed in the fire. No cup was found on the road, which means that when the pirates attacked on that night's evening, the tankers were moored, standing in front of the wooden counter or around the breaker. Above, the cups as they were found and to the left, some of them after being repaired.



Above the facade a woman was working, who, as can be seen from her earrings left behind, served sailors from many cities in the Mediterranean. To the left, some of the wine cups used in the tavern and from doughlike stones (psas) and dice from a game that the customers used to play and pass forward to other tables began.

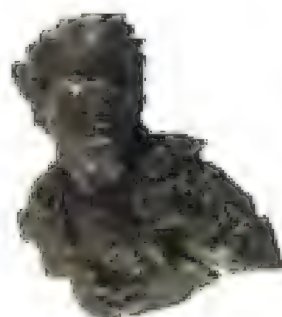


100



North and east of the Sacred Lake there were many shops and workshops that manufactured products exclusively for duty use, but especially luxury items for export. The bronze tradition of India, under observation with applied motifs and rings, were famous for its durability and very expensive. Above: moulds for casting the metal leg and decorative elements.





These objects are from a small, ancient, and large, in the manufacture of bronze, today and in the past.





Several, but not including,
a few or more plaques
depicting a dancer,
a figure of the form
of an African's head
and various in the shape
of animals.



Models for making clay
vases in the form of a man,
a dancer as applied
decorative in a vase, and
feet soldiers. Figures
of objects were made with
lead imported from the
mines of Lajpore.



In many workshops, artisans mass produced copies of famous statues in miniature for residents and pilgrims; statues of Aphrodite were most in demand, since at least 50 half-finished statues of the goddess were found. The most popular types, with the earliest and provocative Aphrodite tying her sandal (75 half-finished statues); the shy Aphrodite of Knidos (70 unfinished, a mass market Aphrodite leaning on a small pedestal (32 statues); and the Anadyomene (emerging from the waves). In addition, a good many half-finished statues were found of Athena, Artemis, Heracles and Semele.





The Sanctuary of the Isthmian, as it is conventionally known, was probably dedicated to the cult of Apollo¹ or of Artemis Nemora. The base of the twin statues has been preserved in the temple in front which is a marble altar. The sanctuary was totally destroyed at the end of the 18th c. Two years later Giam. Thurneser built a bastion on top of it, part of the old stone walls with which he tried to protect what was left of the city.



A relief found at the Mausoleum depicts the feast of a river god and three seated Nereids. Inside the Mausoleum there was an inscription forbidding people to wash, bathe or throw offerings into the water. Another inscription preserved in the nearby porticoes people from throwing ashes and all sorts of refuse of Larys and the temple of Artemis, and a third one makes provision for strict laws for anyone allowing pigs and other animals to graze in the sanctuary. Parts of this kind would have been everywhere if pilgrims, visiting rich lords and the local merchants had respected the public areas of the city.



It has been decided by the Senate and the People, upon a proposal by Telemachus, son of Aristides, that in future the stone at the temple of Artemis should be kept alone and that no one should throw either trash or refuse or anything else into the water area near the sanctuary of Larys; this has been decided by the Senate and the People; if anyone is caught committing such an act, the one who observed this has the right to arrest him and accuse him before the Senate; should the perpetrator be a slave the Senate will give Selasus or his heirs should he be a free man, he will pay a fine of 100 drachmas. The Senate having no involvement in this matter, and give half the fine to the priests and the other half to the accused.



Caryatid, son of Adonis, who as charged (apomoch) had won a prize for a theatrical performance (c. 400 BC), dedicated a phallus to Phallus as a high form with which representations of the god and his companions. In the 3rd century, beside the base, a small temple was built to the god in the form of a simple arch, and a second phallus was placed symmetrically at the other end. Inside the centre was the statue of a nude Hermes seated sideways on a throne between two statues of women in the costume of Hippodamia. All these statues date to the late 3rd cent. BC.





As early as the 3rd cent. BC, the god seemed to be bearded and from then on was often depicted as bearded down from the 4th cent. AD, he is shown as a male, beautiful youth with a beaker, soft curls and luxuriant hair falling to his shoulders. In this relief, the only features that distinguish him from Attanos are the beards, grapes and papyrus.

Known as the god of Dependence, a common member of the group, and brother of Dionysos, he is holding a plectrum and an almost empty wine skin. His chubby face and small but round, beaming, lowered eyelids and round belly show the easy-going personality of someone who is fond of his wine. His features recall depictions of Socrates.





Headless marble statue of Dionysus with something he is holding in his raised right arm, perhaps a bunch of grapes.



Headless Pan, god of mountains, valleys and rivers. The strong musculature of the body shows that he has been excited by the music he is playing on his reed.



Richard Young before, sitting and
happy, drunk on the ice of life, and
much for troubled of all kinds.
Together with Dan and the Maunds
they make up the most famous
group.



THE TRIP OF HANSHI AND SHI: "The scouts said that the phantoms and companions were demented and fatuous men wearing discolors and wreathed with ivy. They were holding small spurs without an iron tip, also adorned with ivy, and light little shields that made noise if you but touched them. - I think they mimic drums for shields. Among them there were some youths with long tails and short tunics like those of a northern goat, who danced the *landolai*. The commander himself twinkled in a chariot drawn by leopards; he was completely beardless, not even hair sprouted on his cheek, beamed, crowned with grapes, with his hair held by a ribbon, dressed in porphyry, dyes and gold boots. He had two lieutenants, one a short fat old man with a large belly, with a flat nose and large upright ears who trembled a little and supported himself on a stool, but more often he rode on a donkey; he too was dressed also in women's dress - a very apt colonel. The second was a huge man, goat-footed and hairy with horns and a dense beard, nervous and irritable who held a syrinx in his left hand and a crooked rod in the other, and pranced about the entire camp, scolding the women who, as soon as he approached, would shake their hair loosely to the wind and shout *crash!* in barbarian exclamation. The scouts thought that this was the name of their leader. The women had grabbed the horns and torn the animals apart lips and teeth ate their flesh raw." *Lucian, Dialogues*, 4-9.





A large, conical phallus and a small dancing figure, possibly a deity, with two phalluses, and holding an ornate, conical phallus. On the right below, a winged figure, possibly a deity, is shown in a dynamic pose, possibly dancing or fighting, with a phallus in the background.



Found with several-shaped winged
plaques. The inscription 'this
for you, now for me' and 'this for
me, now for you' constitute a kind
of friendly greeting from the host
to the visitor. The statuette
of the winged figure is
carving the enormous plaques with
the help of a wheel, was prepared
from Alexandria. This is
a personification that protects
the residents of a house from
the evil eye and from envy.



Many phallus-shaped amulets were found in houses, clay or marble replicas of phalluses and male-potential animal- or human-shaped phalluses. The power of the phallus over the evil eye is displayed in a relief from the House of Isopos, in which a lion-shaped phallus is sitting at open fire with its phallus.







On the wall in the Late House, is an encaustic plaque together with the date of 1170, which makes even clearer the message of what the would-be intruder will suffer.

Wine cups are often decorated with scenes such as the enjoyment of whatever is drinking from it and of those seated around him. Such scenes, in connection with the drink, signify enjoyment, stimulate desire, suggest and facilitate the work of Aphrodite because "Aphrodite is more passionate with Dionysos, and the mixing of the two is sweet. If one is separated from the other, they produce pleasure."¹⁰⁰

[11]





Most of the erotic scenes are found on lamps that accompany and light the works of Aphrodite.

*O, the lamp of love, which Hecate gave to the fabled Nags
and was a faithful companion on their living nights;
was beside her bed I to whispering away and dreaming,
seeing the erotic games of the sacred deer.*

*Phaon, I know that you too are sleepless with your heavy thoughts;
and even though we are far apart, we burn with the same passion.*

Phaon and Laisos, from 107



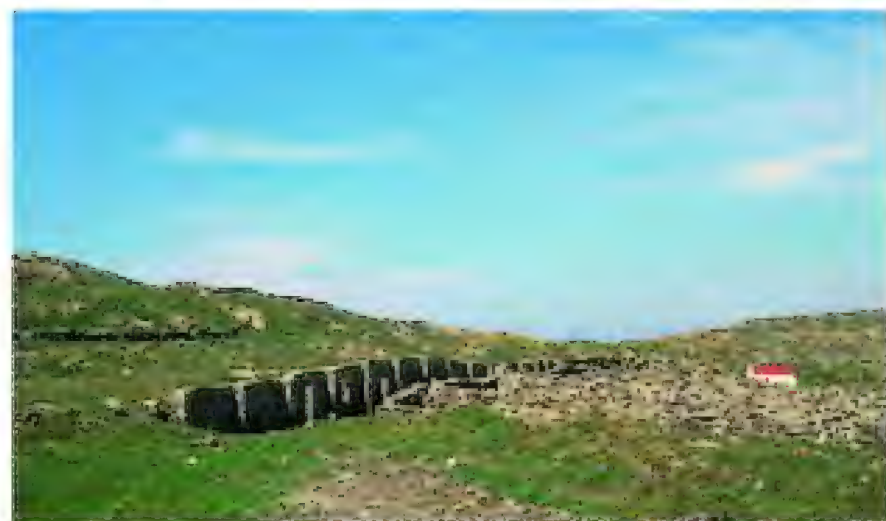
Part of object from the 2nd row, no.
The object, a ritual vessel of conical form which contains at the top a small wooden disk, is in the shape of a horn that ends in the head or head of a sacred animal (bull, horse, panther, etc.) In these three cases (bull, horse, panther) the sacred animal has been replaced by couples kissing or making love. In drinking wine from such a cup, those participating in the sacrament perhaps sought communion (with it) not only with Dionysus but also with Aphrodite.





The city provides the necessary facilities for physical exercise and, by honoring successful athletes, encourages young men to take up athletics. In the Gymnasium, István Nagy found a relief showing the head of the champion Heracles who is put forward as a model, as well as a relief with the heads of victorious athletes. On the base of the statue (150-170 m) of Marathon, son of Glaukos from Attika, his fighting results are represented and all his victories are listed, from adolescence on. Marathon was a frequent name for the pavilion and wrestling, in all the official games in Greece and abroad.





The stadium was created in the early decades of the 17th cent. BC with large-scale earthworks in the region and the construction of a strong retaining wall in the east.



Below the Mithraeum is another, partially excavated, quarter of the ancient city with private houses and an inn for visitors, where they could spread their bedclothes on convenient benches or lie down, drowsy, wrapped in their furs. On the ground floor there was a *gasthouse* and *luncheon*, perhaps *cafeteria* for visiting animals, and a few small bedrooms for those who could afford to pay more. There were many bedrooms on the upper floor that looked over the internal courtyard.



St Kyriaki, a typical Mykonian church, was built early in the 20th century. St Kyriaki, with six churches, is typical in the preferences of the Mykonians. She is preceded by the Virgin Mary (11) churches: St John (48), St George (49) and St Nicholas (28).



After the destruction of the theatre, the marble stones on the orchestra was brought to the synagogue to be used by the high priest. The Jews in Uşak do not fail to stress in Greek-language inscriptions that they worship their god on Mount Gerizim, i.e. identifying themselves as Samaritans.



The slope is the commercial area west of the Sanctuary. A clivus in front of them to protect customers from the sun and rain. Near the Agora is a little temple dedicated perhaps to Hermes, god of commerce. Here Hermes, protector of the Gymnasium, the police, market laws, wine sellers, oil sellers and merchants in general, is always portrayed bearded and bearded on busts placed at many points in the city, on streets, squares, marketplaces, and in private and public buildings.





*Almighty, benefactor of Zeus, son of Maia,
 almighty lord, mighty ruler of mortals,
 glorious, noble-minded god, god for the common folk with justice
 With your winged sandals, lover of horses, your prophesy is mortal,
 If holder of the reins, you delight in the inspiring of the games
 and in winning words of leaders.
 You who caprice all, who give profit to merchants, who drive war away,
 you who hold the reins, the instrument of peace,
 O blessed, beneficial and holder of the reins
 friend of mortals in their need, helper in works with your stequene,
 the fearful power of the tongue which all obey,
 please hear my prayer and grant a happy outcome to our long
 and short, the joy of speech and happy sequence.*

These words of Zeus to the



The temple of Aphrodite, built by the Pagan archon Stasios in 296/4 BC. In front of the temple, parts of the goddess's altar have been preserved, on which offerings are left to this day, usually flowers or food.

Up to the Roman period, then, the Satyrs and the Centaurs had no females in their world, which was why they would attack mortal women and boys, maenads, nymphs and goddesses, thus realising the more fantasies of male mortals. In this group, dedicated to the conscious use of "artistic of the past" to the "artistic of the present" (190-195), the artist has surprised Aphrodite at her bath. A flying bird tries to push her away. The goddess is ready to hit him with her vessel, but both are smiling. 190-195 is.







Some statues and statuettes of Aphrodite that have been found in houses on Delos. The most common Aphrodite, the embodiment of the sex of life, was the most popular deity on Delos. Delos made more popular than Apollo or Artemis. She is the goddess who brings delight to the eyes, waters of spring, by illuminating and revealing the innermost nature of the human soul, the deepest passions of the body. The first and only goddess who accepts man as a whole, both body and soul, and who loves and knows both equally with her presence.



*Aphrodite, among Aphrodites, made praised in song,
born of the sea, life-beginning goddess, reposed night-reveler
mysterious matchmaker. Look-up mother in Naxos!
Because all things derive from you, and to you the world is subject,
you rule in all these realms, you bring forth everything;
whatever is in heaven, on the mid-ocean earth
and in the depths of the sea, divine companion of Erosion.
O you who delight in banquet, bedchamber of brides, mother of Cupids,
like Ishtar pleasure is had, clandestine art and granter of games
sweet and secret, goddess of transient love, daughter of a noble sire.
O bridal table companion of the gods, scepter-holder, the-best,
you grant children, friend of maid, most favored sister of life,
you join people together with unbridled words
and the lawless world of animals with the charms of love.*

(Homer, *Iliad*, 9th and 20th)



The Helen, as at Rhodes, Aphrodite was worshiped as *Ἐρπύσια*, i.e. she who gives refuge to seamen. She was worshiped by Syriac and other Levantine inhabitants of the island as *Ἀφροῦ Ἀφροδίτη*, *Ἀφροῦ Ὀφειῖται*, *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀφροδίτη*, *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀφροδίτη Ἰσχυρὸς*, *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀφροδίτη Ἰσχυρὸς*, *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀφροδίτη Ἰσχυρὸς*, *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀφροδίτη Ἰσχυρὸς*. Aphrodite, in addition to being the goddess of love, was also the protector of women and it is to her that prayers of thanksgiving were addressed by sailors who had been saved from storms or pirates.



Most of the statues of Aphrodite are copies of variations of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos, which depicts the goddess naked at her bath. Pausanias said it was not simply the best work by Praxiteles, but the best in the entire world and that many people went to Knidos just to see it. In a Hellenistic epigram, the goddess herself declares: "As far as statues, only Paris, Achilles and Hector have ever one judge. No less could Praxiteles portray me as beautiful!"







Aphrodite Anaktoria
was also very popular.
The goddess is depicted
emerging from the sea,
shaking the salt water
from her wet hair.



Many statuettes and figurines represent Aphrodite dancing down to the last model, a stance that reveals all the goddess's charms.



Head from statue and
separate figures of Aphrodite.
Late 2nd early 1st cent. AD.





Thus was nurtured by the youths of the
Gymnastion, but does not have his own
sacredness - the deities and gods
of the state appear in the form in which
he was known in the Hellenistic period:
a winged boy equipped with a quiver and
arrows, closer to the gods and heroes
than to the gods and humans alike.





The activities of Eros (Cupid) are depicted on hundreds of papyrus-bastards found in the House of the Bastards. Eros appears with musical instruments or theatrical masks, he sets up victory monuments, torments Heracles, and battles Anteros. Most representations show the sufferings of Psyche allegorically, in which she is depicted either as a young maiden or as a nymph-bastard. Eros follows her, pursues her, tries to tempt her, captures her, embraces her and kisses her, he guides and masters her, or torments her, blows her and cold, strikes her, punts her with a spit and slowly roasts her.



*I call upon you, great, revered, dearest, crown them
 Jaffar, triumph, you who now in person are made of the
 you to whom gods and men were able to give
 skilled, of golden both, holder of the keys
 to all the heavens, the sea, the earth and as many people breathe
 as the horizon-producing golden supplies to mortals
 and as many as are in broad Persia and in the vast-thundering ocean
 because you alone hold the ruler of all these*

These lines are from a poem



Demagorides, son of Aphrodite, and Hermes, inherited the Rarities beauty of both his parents. Impassionedness of Demagorides, the particular beauty of Demagorides and on Helen, others with great freedom of expression in which every to their enough contemplation makes the models of great technique more and to artists, allowing everyone to follow the beauty desire.

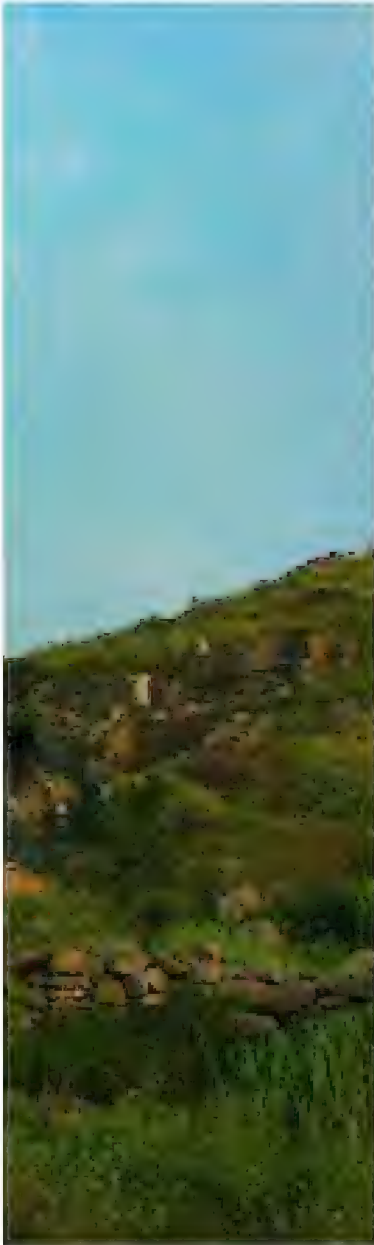




Diogenes, son of
Apollonius and
Lycorion, was
the protective god
of gardens, fields,
towns, herds, and
trees. His numerous
graffiti was a symbol
of fertility
and abundance.







The House of the Fauna is a wealthy house of the 2nd century AD, built on four different levels.



Beside the clay bathtub are the marble legs of a bench on which bathers would leave their clothes. The horns found in the altar have given the building its name. Right: the statue of a *Nymph*, carved in a niche hewn out of the rock from which water poured forth. The cascade of drapery on her figure alludes to the nymph's nature as a water deity and shows the favor of the *Belians* for elegant decorative works.







Altare in a house in the Insulae quarter



In the thirteenth century, the sanctuary
dedicated to the Fates, the Great
Goddess of Samothrace, who were later
identified with the Dioscuri,
a monument to King Minerva's
Temple of Vesta was built
in 1100 BC and contained statues
of herself and her goddesses.





105

Through the waters of the Ingon River, the underground crypts of the sarcophagi A would fill with the sacred waters of the Nile, indispensable for the required purification ritual.



106

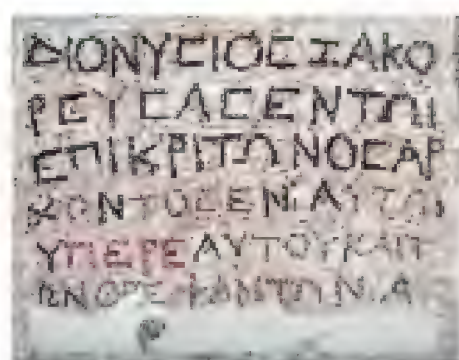


"The priest Apollonios, being ordered by the god, wrote down the following. My grandfather, Apollonios, who was from Egypt, at the pressing time came to Dakh from Egypt bringing with him the image of the god he served according to our ancestral custom. Thus, too, he lived to be 87 years old. He was succeeded by my father, Hieronikos who served the gods devoutly, for which he was honored with a bronze statue that stands today in the temple of the god. He lived to the age of 66. When I took over the sanctuaries and as I diligently cared for them, the god appeared to me in my sleep and told me that his own Sanctuary must be established so that he no longer have to endure hardships as before, and that he himself would find the appropriate location and reveal it to me. And as it came to pass, this location, where full of life was created on a mountain the Apollon Sanctuary was opened with him. The moment as the god willed, the papyrus took place and the sanctuary was built within six months. Now when some Dakhians met who opposed me and the sanctuaries and charged me with the papyrus events, to decide what penalty I should pay, but the god informed me in a dream that he would save. The trial took place, and with the god's assistance we won, and this is how we praise the god recognizing his favor. Hieronikos has also written regarding this case..."

A long inscription written on a small marble column describes the advent of Sarapis to Dakh and the adventures encountered by his priest in establishing a sanctuary on the site.



Two-headed statue (left) and
head from statue of Socrates.
2nd century BC.



The demolished walls of the Sanctuary of the Soteric Gods allow a splendid view of the sanctuary and of Delos. In the narrow passage between the two islands are the rocky islets of Mikra and Megala Remetalia. Atreates, who was identified with Aphaia, was worshipped in this sanctuary together with her companion Hekate, a goddess to Zeus. According to inscriptions on the mosaic floor, the shrine was dedicated by the Athenians Demetrius and Nikias. The mosaic on the left refers to another shrine offering to the gods by the temple-servant Imerios for himself and his foster parents.



The temple of Isis was built in the 3rd cent. BC and was repaired in about 150 BC by the Ptolemies. At the foot of the cult statue, a vessel offering by the Athenians in 130/7 BC, people still burn flowers and other offerings. In front of the temple, the high altar of the goddess can still be seen in good condition. Flinders and Peckham attribute historic origin to Isis regarding her as the daughter of Cronos and Rhea and this statue depicts her as altogether Hellenised.



*The Priestess of the Athena Polias was the priestess
when the Epistates of the island was Aristonous of Anaphiotikon and
L... leader son of Aristonous, and Alexander of Phidion was in charge of the Sanctuary
and when Euthymachos son of Hermokleides of Naxos was priest of Sappho.*





Egyptian statues of Isis wearing a short-sleeved garment and holding a lotus flower with a lotus stalk. According to the Winkelman's description on the back, it was dedicated by the woman Nemesetya and comes from Sais in Egypt. Early 19th cent. 40

120. The statue of the Athenian Ixion, daughter of Hephaestus, was dedicated by her sons Menekles and Iphikles to Sais in Sais, Aulis and Ithaca.



Relief and part of a lamp with a representation of Isis. The goddess, dressed in a long robe, is seated under the lotus, is standing on the base of a lotus with her feet apart to resist the force of the wind. With both her arms and both her legs, she is holding the lotus open to the wind, so that her body becomes a vessel, her arms the sails and her feet the sail. The relief dates from the 1st cent. BC and the lamp from the 2nd cent. 41





Two statues of Aphrodite with her head turned to the characteristic look of Aphrodite the Beautiful.



Kinnor - stringed musical instrument used in the temple of Jerusalem. With the sound of the kinnor the psalmist would regulate the step and dance of the Nephilim.



Kinnor
and of the kinnor from the temple of Jerusalem.
Adapted by the artist to the kinnor of the psalmist.



Vase of the kinnor from the temple of Jerusalem.
This is the kinnor in the great Apollonian temple.
Kinnor was the name.



Mask made of a dried tree
perhaps the Nile—then when
dewy hand water flows.
The mask was part of a ritual
containing holy water for the ritual
of the 1st part, 10.





Lyche goddess of commerce
 the indefensible and unrequited, gradually
 became the goddess of happiness for
 both cities and people. The multitude
 of statues of Lyche found in houses
 shows the goddess's great popularity
 in India, a characteristic feature
 of the times. In the museum of Agnes
 Tyche, which is close to the sanctuary
 of the Egyptian Gods, there was
 a statue of Arsinoë in Philadelphia
 under and wife of Ptolemy II, who was
 depicted with a cornucopia as Agathe
 Tyche (Good Fortune).





In her left hand, Tyche holds the cornucopia, vessel of abundance and wealth, and in her right hand the mirror or talisman with which she guides and rules human fate. She is frequently identified with Isis and represented with a lioness head or the characteristic crest of Isis.



18.1





Hermes, circa 1500, as
disposition, following his mother-
hood. As patron deity of the home
and its inhabitants, he is frequently
represented in domestic, domestic
sculpture and figures, as a standing
figure holding a scepter and with
his finger to his chest, a gesture
commonly regarded as a sign
of silence and secrecy.



The golden-headed god Hermes
is the guardian of graves and
conductor of souls, and it is
he who is credited for delivering
souls to the underworld. His distinctive snake-
like hair, which is often depicted
and found part to them to be
sculpted, symbol to the family
he followed his wife with in
the streets of the Delta and
embarked the dead there.





The most ancient temple of Isis (about 700 B.C.) was severely preserved until the arrival of the more magnificent, subsequent temple built in about 100 A.D. Inside and behind the older structure were buried the oldest offerings to the goddess, some 1200 years and older than the temple of Isis, and that of Leto, her rival, were built by the Ptolemies with locally-quarried marble.



Here - beautiful as Athena and Aphrodite, and as equal claimant of the apple of Paris - a chaste, faithful and dedicated wife is always represented as a respected lady seated on a throne. The *disques* accounts report expenditures made on the annual decoration and gilding of two statues of the *Thémis*. It is possible that beside the statue of *Thémis* were also the one of *Zéus* as portrayed in an antique *bas-relief* figure found there. In front of the statues were two marble tables to receive the offerings of the faithful.





Terracotta figurines of a goddess (continued). (cont.) (left) Hera; (center) right, Zeus and Hera; (right) Hera. (7) (cont.) (8).



Figure: Terracotta figure of a woman holding a date, with two small bands attached to the sides (Figure 10, 10, 10).
 Figure: Two figures of a woman holding a date, with a small band attached to the sides (Figure 11, 11, 11).





Four terracotta figurines in various shapes, a seated female, bearing a breast, and kneeling female. 17 cent. B.C.



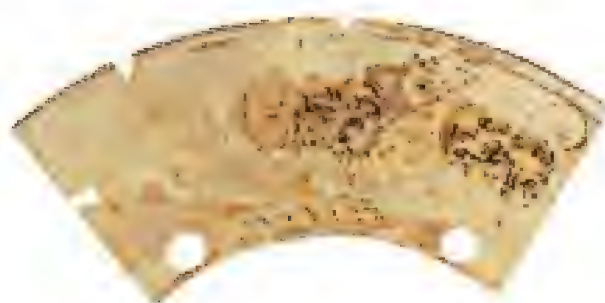
Head of a goddess, most likely Ishtar, in which the face is made of the initial motherhood of the goddess. 17 cent. B.C.





Wareham (see figs) and present-day Wareham (see figs). Wareham (see figs) and present-day Wareham (see figs). Wareham (see figs) and present-day Wareham (see figs).





Clay stealer (1800-575 BCE)
and reconstruction: design
by George Follkhardt.



Two bronze jug and plate and a bronze plate depicting a lotus flower (17th century, Egypt)





small Euboean amphora and Corinthian precocious lewan. 17-67 cent. B.C.



These images of Ibena Feroon, the Mistress of Animals, the most ancient goddess of the East, who was later identified with Artemis (late 7th cent. BCE). The plate was reconstructed and the decoration was filled in on the basis of very few elements in the skill of George Halkarimeta. He also did the reconstruction of the statuette below.





Corinthian amphorae and oinochoe, 550-500 B.C.





*Cretean alabaster, containers of perfume
or oil, decorated with mass of various
a form and rows of lines.
Late 7th, early 8th cent. BC.*





Amic diptra vase
 with decorative
 figures, geometric
 and floral motifs

10.1



Attic black-figure kylix (wine cup) of the 5th cent. BC. Inside the foot above is an inscribed inscription stating that this kylix was dedicated to Hera.





Achilles and Ajax play draughts while Athena looks on. Attic, 4th or 3rd cent. B.C.





Black-figure Attic amphorae with scenes from the Gymnasium.



Two. *Amie. Halkett*, late 19th cent. The figure of a man, possibly a deity or a hero, is shown in a long, thin, and slender, holding a large horn in his left hand. The figure is set against a background of stylized, dark, branching forms. The panel is framed by a decorative border.





Three ivy-crowned Maenads dance between the columns of a Doric colonnade holding thyrsos with ivy leaves. The first is holding a goat and the last a flute. Behind, two Maenads who have drunkenly emptied the large kylix in their hands, are dancing to the music played by a satyr on the lyre. A second Diphilike Satyr basket is slung with the drunken girls. Attic, 470-460, 10.





Scene of Homeric battle. In the centre of the scene, the charioteer tries to hold back the restless horses. The warrior who has stepped down from the chariot to fight falls wounded by the javelin of his adversary, and two other warriors come to help him. These men represent the death of Hector and the divine prowess of Achilles, who won the outcome of the battle. After: Lehmann, 19. and. 10.



So the fight continued, and the multitude went up through the waste spaces of the air and struck the upper sky. But from the conflict the horses of Achilles had been wringing since they knew that their charioteer had been brought down in the dust by the magnificent Hector. Automolus, Phryx' eldest son, did not befriend them; he hated them, and he saved them, Hector; but the pair refused either to go back to the ships and the broad Hellespont or into the battle after the Achaeans. Now as a grievous plague on the banner of a dead man or woman, they stood motionless in front of their fatal chariot with their heads bowed to the earth. Had man ever been more vain as the ground as they mourned for their lord, Hector, and their lamenting voices were heard as they sang wailing down from the lofty peak on either side of the valley. The fate of Hector seems to me that great man's own fate more. He chose his death and said to himself: "How brave! Why did our great men, who are against and immortal, to King Priam, who is doomed to die? But we must go to show the commonest unhappy man? Not of all the creatures that breathe and creep about on Mother Earth there is none so miserable as man."²⁰



Achilles dragging the dead body of Hector around the walls of Troy. The great pain over the death of his beloved friend leads Achilles, the most noble of heroes, to rage and destruction.



He set the tendons of the loins of both his feet from heel to ankle, inserted leather straps, and made them fast to his chariot, leaving the dead in drag. Then he filled the famous armor with his car, got on himself, and with a wail of his woe, seized the horses, who flew off with a snarl. Dragged behind him, Hector raised a cloud of dust, his black locks streamed on either side, and dust fell thick upon his head, so much so that, which Zeus saw, let his lightning dart on his chariot and [...]

As impetuous he sped on his way, the wheels spun round, darts and darts flew. Sometimes he lay on his side, sometimes on his back, and then again on his face. At last he would get up and transfer drowsily, pining the still wet bridle. Then after doing so, he got up the sea and continued round Achilles' strong. He used to turn, he felt terror at his chariot, he looked toward the back of it and when he had looked him three times round, Hector's horses, go back and say to his feet, because his body stretched like a garment in the dust. But dead through Hector was, Apollo still set eyes for the man and saved his flesh from all pollution. Moreover, he wrapped him in his golden eagle, so that Achilles should not touch his armor when he was dragging him along."



This is the only vase that Heracles is depicted to capture the lion of Nemea. Heracles watches the fight gesturing emphatically. Athena, the hero's constant ally, is about to intervene. To the right a helper, who is holding Heracles' lion skin and club is on the point of fleeing or leaving but wants to see the outcome of the fight. *Amé Jannot, late 19th cent. 10.*



Hermes kills the triple-bodied monster Geryon to take the cattle. On the left, Hermes holds the hero's club, and on the right the Olympian Calypso, mother of Geryon, kneels in prayer. Hermes, the two-headed guardian of the land, has fallen on his back, dying. Geryon's head on the right is already dead, the middle one is dying but the left one is still fighting. Everywhere assigned Hermes the most arduous tasks, both to distance him from Troy, and in the hope that one of these tasks would prove fatal and that Hermes would never return, Athena claims that Hermes willingly undertakes all these labors to impress Calypso, with whom he was in love. "After *Apollon*, Hermes was the



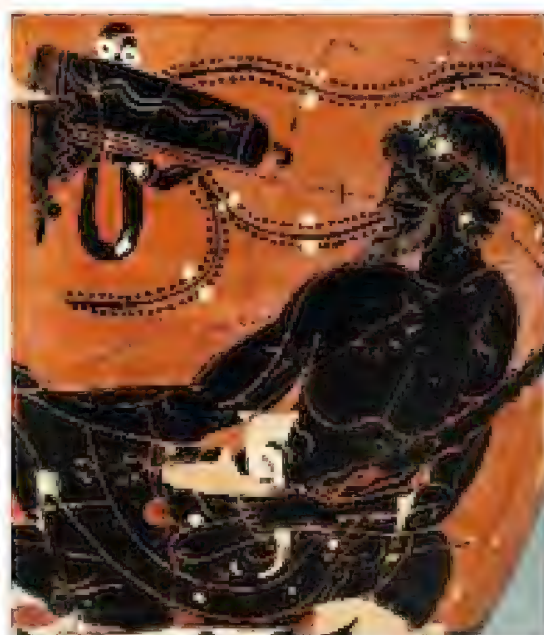
On the day, Zeus, father of Phobos, agreed to fight the fire that would rid Heracles from the terrible pain of the poisoned chiton. A cloud came down from the heavens and amid the lightning and thunder, Heracles ascended to heaven. On Olympus he is welcomed by Athena. Hermes greets happily and Iris hastens to offer him nectar. Now immortal among the immortal gods, he will finally be reconciled with Hera and will marry his daughter Hebe, who will bear him two sons, Alcides and Anaktor. (The complete story, see 6th part, 15.)





symposium of heroes. Heracles identifiable by his club, quiver and bow
is discussing amicably with two other heroes, possibly Odysseus and Ajax.
Attic black-figure kylix, late 6th cent. BC.







The Sanctuary of Artemis is located on a specially created terrace at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus. A stairway leads to the summit of the hill, to the Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena. On the slope of the hill is the Grotto of Theseus, a natural rift in the rock, flooded by enormous slabs of granite. These Hellenistic slabs represented early travellers who believed it to be the most ancient temple of Apollo.





Inside the temple was the statue of the deity standing on a natural piece of granite. In front of the temple entrance is a large circular altar. To the right is a statue of Hecates from the Lake Urmia, 17th cent. BC.







Heracles, noble of soul, mighty in power, vigorous Titan
with your strong arm, sustained, used with great labours,
you of the many forms, father of time, eternal and wise,
if aulone, force of soul, much desired master of all,
will you complete them, to you is power, you are victorious
all-deceiving one, generous, supreme, deliverer of all,
you rescue people by driving out wild beasts and
by your justice for avenging greatly injured people
to self-control, justice, if someone child of the earth
and father strong upon the first created, if victorious, driving them,
you have driven out your head and shoulders of sight
and this did to with you continued you to the future
invented, experienced, powerful, unshakable;
you blessed one, bringing him for all nations down and
to the bottom by making his house in your hand
and cast out grim misfortune with cruelness arms.

Greek, Heracles, 17th cent. AD



Figure 10.10: A terracotta figurine of a female figure, likely a Venus figurine, showing the torso and legs. The figure is standing, with the right arm bent and the hand near the hip. The material is light brown and shows signs of wear and discoloration.



In the published version above
 the seated figure is sitting on a rock (or
 a pedestal) instead of a rock (or pedestal)
 in her spread her legs out.

100

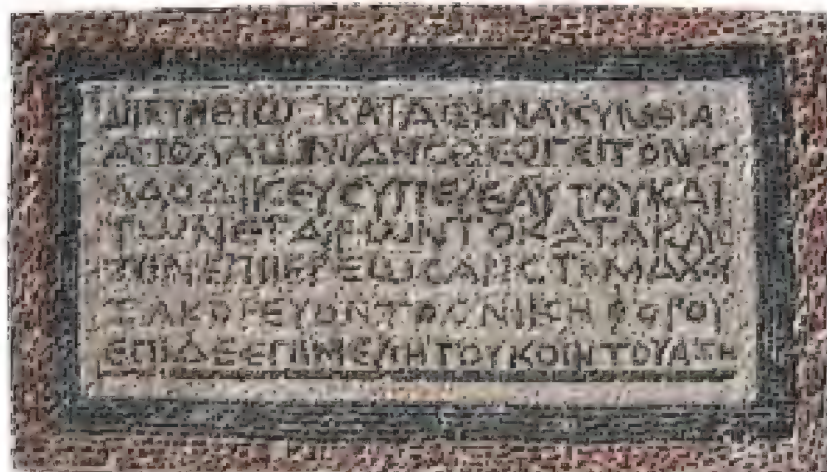


Groups of statues, busts, figures and wall paintings representing Hercules have been found in Italian houses. In the 7th and 4th centuries BC, he was the most popular of all the male gods. Son of the supreme god and a mortal woman, he was loved and admired but was invulnerable, and thereby became the refuge, solace and hope of human beings.





view from the top of Kythera, from which Zeus watched the birth of his children, most of all, in particular view of the Aegean. All around are the Cyclades, "appearing near but very far", forming a circular dance around the sacred side of Olympus. At the crest are the sanctuaries of Zeus Kythereos and Athena Kytherea, to which Apollonides from Lindos dedicated a votive offering.





The seal of the *proktores* of Athens, the one-year position of urban police whose duty was mainly to look after Athenian interests on Delos, bears the head of Zeus in the center.



Statues of Athena, patron goddess of Athens, who despite the efforts of the Athenians, was never particularly popular in Italy.





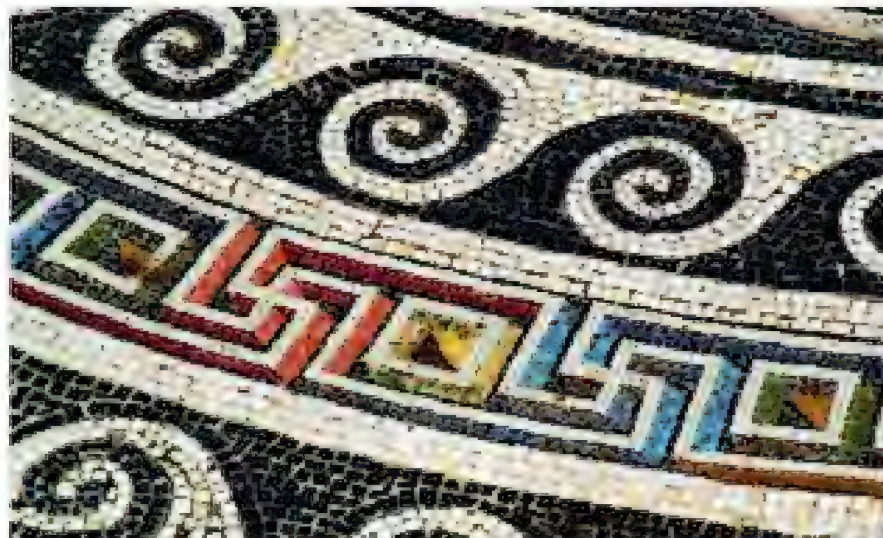


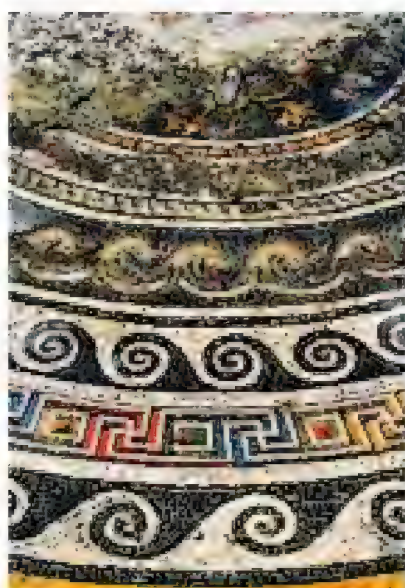
In the main entrance of the House of the Dolphins is an oblong of the Thessalian goddess Vesta, a deity sent to protect the sanctuaries from evil. Cupids, adorning the mosaic floor in the atrium, play a maritime variation of a Roman arabesque motif. In Rome the motif took place with two galloping horses on which a single rider would jump back and forth from one to the other.



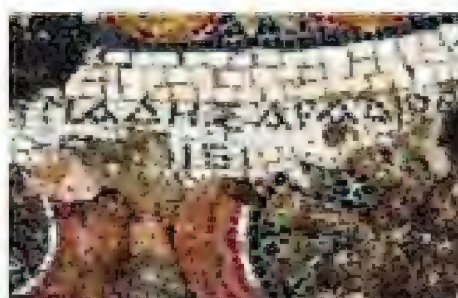


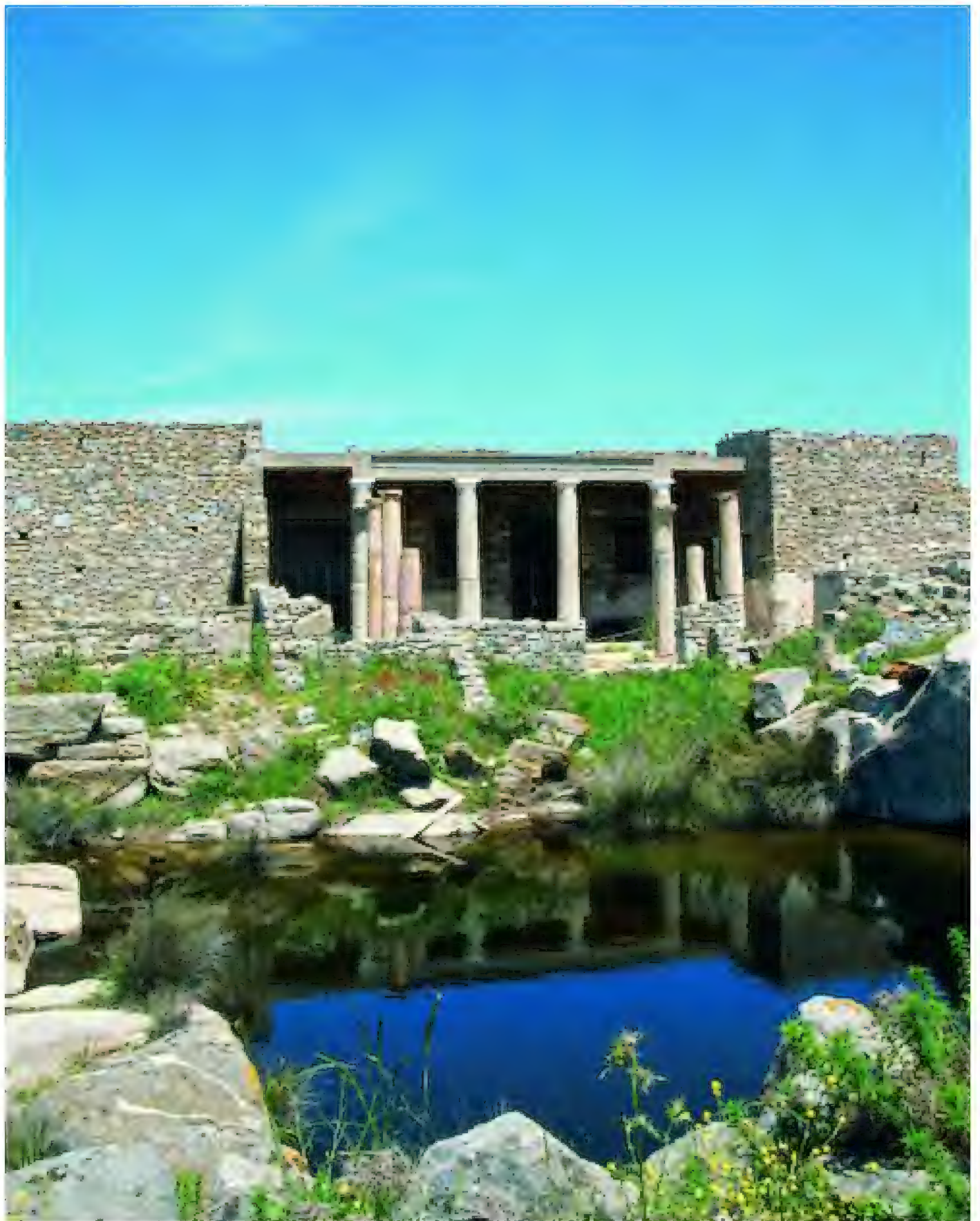
Figure 100 is holding the symbol of a god: the thyrsus of Dionysus, the Infant of Thebes. The caduceus of Hermes and the club of Hercules. The line holding a thyrsus is riding on a dolphin with a wreath in its mouth, which would indicate that in this particular context, the owner was Dionysus.





Among the 300 mosaic floors on Ithaca, not many are signed by the mosaicist. In the case of this unique mosaic, the artist was Anileparchos from Antioch, a city in Hellenistic





The temple of the House of the Hawks consists of four houses, all built in c. 1400-100 bc. A large column built out of the granite rock supplied water to all the houses in the temple. The statue of the main house has columns of granite and papyrus which were covered with white plaster to resemble marble. In this wealthy house, which was decorated with splendid mosaic floors and with paintings, luxury vases were found, as well as gold jewellery and statues (fig. 133, 162, 209, 459), one of which may represent the owner.





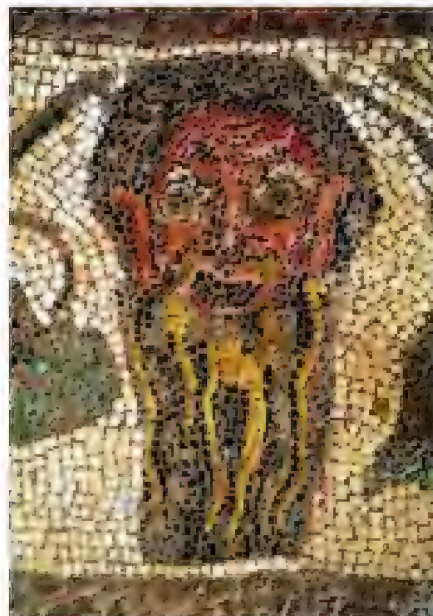


In the first scene, opening under the altar, the figures have been preserved in excellent condition. The first portrays Vishnu, seated on a leopard or panther, whence he is called. The figure is carrying a large bow or gold bow in the shape of a bow, a golden sword or dagger. The scene is reminiscent of the Hindu deity, Vishnu, in the shape of a leopard.



Unlike from the medieval Irish manuscript, The medieval figure was made to sit by the manuscript and his surroundings, but the central piece, whose margins beyond were free, were placed in the workshop and then put into the film in such a way that they could be removed and transported.





On the floor of the main hall, mosaics and broken
tiles create the illusion of three-dimensional cubes.
On two bands that flank the main scene, among
mosaics of lions, there are two theatrical masks
for topical jokes in the New Comedy.



In the room next door, a male Satyr
watched as a rock is playing a double
flute and a female Silenus
is dancing on the tips of her toes.



In the last room, between
two spherical mirrors, there is
an amphora with a palm branch
and under it a bird pecking fruit
in front of the threshold of
the room are lying dolphins.



102

Construction started on the theatre after 314 BC, but was not completed until almost 70 years later. The rainwater from the *akroai* was collected by drains in a large reservoir that supplied water to the upper city.



103



When construction began on the theatre, there were no houses in the surrounding district. Gradually, the houses began to climb up from the sea until they were just a few metres away from the *kolon* and the *skene*.



100

The Theatre Quarter, the oldest district in the city, with its narrow uphill streets and high houses, is similar to medieval towns. The sun barely reached down far enough to light the narrow streets which, in the winter months, would have been damp and muddy. Walking along these dark streets, the only things you could see were the high walls and a patch of sky above. But Mithridates, pirates and time joined forces and again the site permits the modern passer-by to see the island, the Aegean and the Cyclades all around.



101



204



205



206